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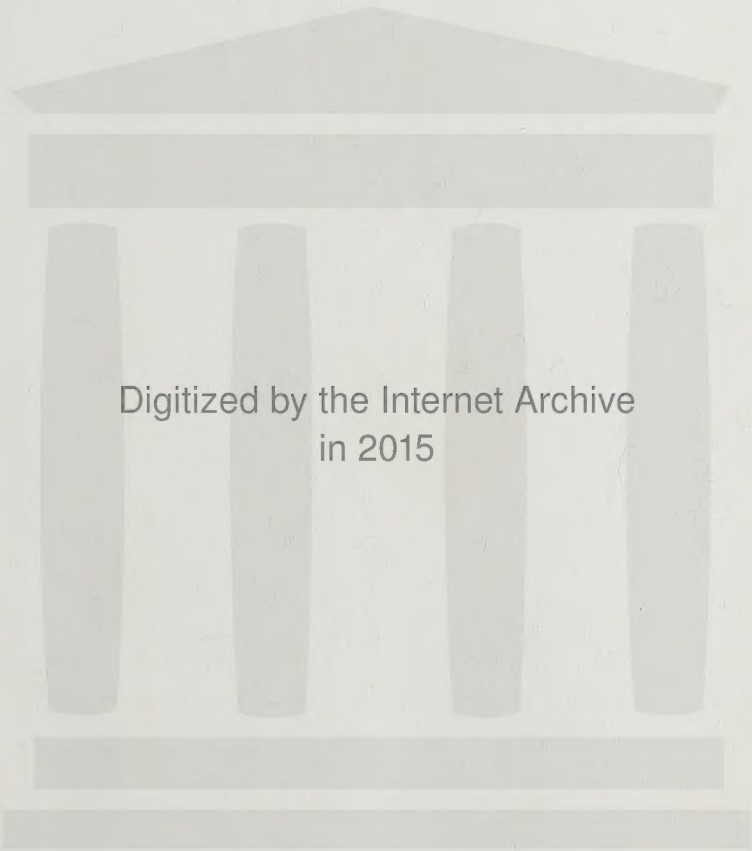
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The CHRONICLES of OKLAHOMA

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Spring, 1964

A HONEYMOON DUGOUT HOME IN WESTERN OKLAHOMA

Volume XLII Number 1

Published Quarterly by the

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Spring, 1964

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Cover: The scene on the front cover is from an old photograph of a young couple on their homestead claim in the "Cheyenne-Arapaho Country," Western Oklahoma, showing their first cotton crop and watermelons and their dugout home (right). See "A Heritage to Share," article in this Spring issue of *The Chronicles*.

A HERITAGE TO SHARE

*By Vera Holding**

"And this the living harvest yield
Implanted through her toil—
The rich red-blooded men of faith
Who sprang from prairie soil."

These lines could be the theme of this story of a pioneer who has lived through the drama of taming a wild new country and who has done her share in making it a place of beauty, of culture, of industry and of great wealth. "Hard work, courage, stamina, love and faith," smiled petite Ida Fancher. "That's what it took."

Her eyes held far-off dreams as if she were reliving that long trek from Wise County, Texas to come with her father and two brothers to Custer County, Oklahoma. They had a new dugout home which their father had built for them soon after he had made the "Run" into the Cheyenne-Arapaho country, April 19, 1892.

Three sisters were left in Texas to come later on the train, but Ida came along in the covered wagon so that she could cook for her father and brothers. Every night they would make camp and she'd hustle out the dutch oven and stir up a batch of corn pone or "terrapin" biscuits. They had two covered wagons and fourteen cows to bring to the raw new country. "Two of the cows had to be milked every night which supplemented the diet," Mrs. Fancher said.

She remembers that at one camp site she saw a large rock with something written on it. Crawling down from the high seat of the wagon she read: "You are now leaving Texas." She recalls that was about the best cry she ever had. Perhaps for the first time she was realizing that her family was really tearing up roots which were to be transplanted in this "wild Indian" country.

However, her father, R. R. Cooke, called her his "Tom-boy" or his "top cow-hand," and of course she could not be caught

* Vera Holding, author, poet and lecturer lives in Tipton, where besides her activity in the writing field in Oklahoma and the Southwest, she is deeply interested in church work and the Tipton Home for orphan children. Mrs. Holding is President of the State Poetry Society (1963-65), and a member of Oklahoma City Branch of the National League of American Pen Women. She is well known in the field of the state press, and as an instructor and panel leader in the Annual Writers' Conference at the University of Oklahoma, Norman. —Ed.

FIVE GENERATIONS IN WESTERN OKLAHOMA

Seated, Ida Fancher holding her great great-granddaughter, Kim Harding. Standing, (left to right): daughter, Mrs. Marion Fancher Williams; granddaughter, Mrs. Charles Nieman; great-granddaughter, Mrs. Phil Harding.

crying. So she dried her tears and tried to think of the fine land which lay ahead where they were to put down new roots which would tie them forever to a rolling prairie land called "Oklahoma."

The first town in Oklahoma at which they stopped was Minco. Ida thought it was practically the end of civilization. But in two more days, her father promised, they would reach their destination—160 acres of grass land with a beautiful 16 x 18 foot dugout with a sod roof. Ida could hardly wait to get there. It was the fall after the April 19, 1892 "run," so the grass was sere and brown. To her it looked like a sea of beige washing over little swells and across the valleys.

But she found that the prairie held many mysteries. The cloud across there puffing against the blue of the sky, turned out to be a prairie fire, and they had to work frantically to meet the fire with a back fire to save the wagons and horses. The cattle were very nervous and it was all the boys could do to keep them from running off to "Kingdom Come." For there was not a fence in all this vast prairie country.

The night after the prairie fire, the family picked a campsite near a deep canyon. Away down there about thirty feet was a fine spring of cold water bubbling out. A rope was tied about Ida's small body, as she was the youngest child, and she went down the canyon wall to the water. She hung on to a bucket to which she tied the rope and hand over hand buckets of water were pulled up for supper and breakfast.

Ida Fancher smiled when she was telling about how brave she tried to be. For a big bob-cat was perched in an old dead tree, watching every move she made, she said!

After fourteen days on the road they arrived at the dugout, and it was not long before her sisters joined the family. The nearest railroad station was El Reno. There was a general store and a post office there, too. People could pick up their mail twice a month.

As soon as possible forty acres of sod were turned for the next spring's crop. Ida remembers walking behind the plow and dropping kaffir seed every third row. This was a brand new feed which had been discovered to grow in sod without much water.

Ida attended a school in a dugout house. When she was fourteen years of age she met a handsome homesteader, Del Fancher. She had plopped down on her cousin's lap for a minute to get a little assistance with her big hair bow before she got up to recite for the school's "Literary Society." The cousin had a date with Mr. Fancher. But he afterward told Ida that when

he saw her that night he vowed in his heart that she'd be his wife someday.

Pioneering Oklahomans had great faith in the land, in God and in each other. It was not long before neighbors all up and down the cattle trails decided they needed a community church. Ida and another girl rode horseback all over a twenty mile area asking for donations to build the new church. It was made from hewn logs and was called Mt. Olive. People of all faiths attended.

It was in this church that Ida had her first date with Del Fancher. It was not too long after that date before a romance began which culminated in a prairie wedding in this little church. Wild flowers and vines made a scented, beautiful altar and an arch under which they stood to repeat their wedding vows. The little church could not accommodate the crowd. Many stood outside just to catch a glimpse of the first bride of the neighborhood emerge on the arm of her groom. That was on October 24, 1897.

As gifts from her father, the bride took twelve hens, a cow and her trunk, and moved to the "honeymoon cottage," eight miles north of where Weatherford now is located.

But this first home was no ordinary dugout that Del had made for his bride. He had filed on a claim at the opening of the Cheyenne-Arapaho territory. Now for his bride, he had a spacious half-dugout made of split cedar logs chinked with mud and gravel above the ground. The dark coolness of the earth floor beneath held braided rugs and colorful Indian blankets. The dugout even had a split-cedar shingled roof, all hand made by an industrious young man who wanted to give his bride the best in prairie elegance. How proud they were—Del and Ida Fancher—of the first cotton crop which grew on their very own prairie sod! They even planted a few watermelons which did well, too.

The Fanchers lived on this land and reared seven children. The first two were born in the dugout, and as the family grew, more commodious quarters had to be built. The first baby died at eighteen months. They knew by this time that they were forever tied to this rolling red land. Part of their hearts were buried in the little church yard back of the church where they were married.

They soon became accustomed to the Indians and they were good friends. Ida recalls that even when she was still a child, one particular Cheyenne kept coming to the dugout wanting to trade his spotted pony for her sister, Anna.

In the first few years of their marriage, Ida said that if she

wanted chicken for a meal, she would go over a little rise, and shoot a few prairie chickens.

One of the hardships which came was the loss of their horses from lightning. They had no way of putting in the crops so they went to a bank in El Reno and borrowed $40.00 to buy a team of mules. The banker took a mortgage on the next year's entire crop as security.

"Yes, we saw good years and bad, but mostly good," Mrs. Fancher smiled. "We were too busy, worked too hard and were too proud of our children to ever get really discouraged. I never had any sleepless nights. I was too tired. I'd just drop in that bed and go to sleep."

It was not until her husband's death and all the children had left the old homestead to make lives of their own, that she sold the old place and moved to a neat cottage in Thomas, Oklahoma. Here she lives alone, raises a big vegetable garden, works in her flowers and keeps as busy and happy as ever in her church and community.

Five generations have made her life full and beautiful. It is a heritage to share with them that she lives for now. A heritage of strength, stamina and faith. Faith in God, in this red land and in her fellowman—the very foundation on which Oklahoma was builded.

CAPTAIN DAVID L. PAYNE: THE CIMARRON SCOUT

By A. Suman Morris

Introduction

It is by chance and altogether fitting that this sketch on the life of Captain David L. Payne, contributed by his relative, Mrs. A. Suman Morris, should appear in this Spring, 1964 issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* since this is the 75th anniversary of the famous "run" of April 22, 1889. The celebration of the "run" on April 22 every spring by the City of Guthrie (the first capital in "Old Oklahoma," and the pride of the 89'ers and their descendants), with its big parade of old wagons and teams, decorated floats, mounted round-up clubs and all day festivities is an annual historical event in Oklahoma attended by thousands of visitors. This year the 75th anniversary of the "Run of 1889" has been accented by another celebration in Oklahoma City, the capital and largest city in the state, the original townsite at the time of the opening almost centering "Old Oklahoma." This was a tract of nearly 1,880,000 acres known as the Unassigned Lands in the center of the Indian Territory, now the state of Oklahoma.

David L. Payne was the leader of the "boomers" who is credited in early state history as the one who made the first steps that brought about the opening of lands in the Indian Territory to white settlement in 1889 though he died five years before this time. His followers, the "boomers," among whom were prominent early day leaders who looked upon him as their great hero, some referring to him in their writings as the "Father of Oklahoma," an over-emphasis today in the light of others who claim this same title for their own heroes in the pages of state history.

Artemisia Suman Morris, the author, states in her letter accompanying her manuscript on her second cousin, Captain David L. Payne: "I have spent much of my time the past thirty years with my mother and absorbed her impressions of her cousin and hero, as well as making notes on what she remembered . . . Although grandfather was only a first cousin, he was eleven years older than Dave, and they were more like brothers. During his visits to Indiana Dave would spend much of his time in grandfather's home, so mother had an opportunity to really get acquainted with him . . . I am deeply interested in this article as I grew up and spent my early life in Fairmount where Dave lived until twenty-one years of age. While I did not know Dave, I knew the men and women who were his closest friends and relatives . . ." Mrs. Morris left Fairmount, Indiana in 1934 when her husband, Robert A. Morris passed away. He organized the Fairmount State Bank in 1902; was President of the Indiana Bankers Association in 1919, and served three years in the American Bankers Association. Mrs. Morris is still interested in the Fairmount State Bank and the Pendleton Banking Co., Pendleton, Indiana. Her article here contributed to *The Chronicles* along with some photographs gives much new data on the life of Captain David L. Payne. He served in the Union Army during the Civil War, and was a contemporary of Colonel George A. Custer, serving with Custer's forces in the so-called "Battle of the Washita" in Indian Territory when these U.S. forces wiped out Chief Black Kettle's Cheyenne village in November, 1868 (battle site near Cheyenne, in present Roger Mills County).

The name of Captain David L. Payne was held among the great by most of the press in western Oklahoma territorial days, and even after statehood. Those leaders who would hold him high in memory provided a unique and permanent memorial to him in history: The handsome sterling silver, punch bowl of the silver service set of the late *U.S.S. Oklahoma* has as one of its handles a beautiful figurine bust of David L. Payne wearing his characteristic, cavalier hat; and the opposite handle of the huge silver bowl is a figurine bust of the famous Cherokee, Sequoyah, inventor of the Cherokee alphabet. The side of this silver bowl is engraved with a scene of the run of 1889, and around the silver rim is a raised U.S. naval design. This bowl is a part of a 56-piece sterling silver set provided by an act of the Fourth State Legislature of Oklahoma in 1911 for the *U.S.S. Oklahoma* christened in 1914. Shortly before World War II when the warship was readied for Naval duty (sunk at Pearl Harbor in 1941), the silver service set was removed, and it is now preserved in the Oklahoma Historical Society. During the 75th anniversary of the "Run of 1889," in 1964, the likeness of Captain David L. Payne and of Sequoyah are seen in a special Museum exhibit of the Historical Society displaying the great bowl and accompanying pieces of the silver set from the *U.S.S. Oklahoma* now a part of American history in the Pacific.

—The Editor.

Since the advent of Motion Pictures we have been familiar with the hero worship of American children for Western Actors, and considered it of no importance—just child's play. And yet if it had not been for the adoration which a little girl had for a real hero—who came out of the West, more than ninety years ago, this story would not be written and some of the facts about his life would have been lost to history.

Captain David Lewis Payne was a first cousin to the Reverend William G. Lewis, my maternal grandfather. He had been in the West about ten years when my mother, Rachel Lewis Suman was born, February 4, 1869.

Captain Payne made frequent trips back to his boyhood home, and those visits became the high-lights in a little girl's life. For fifteen years, Rachel welcomed Captain Payne with a love and adoration which cannot be described, but only the imagination can picture.

He served in the West over a period of twenty-five years and during his visits home would entertain his family and friends with stories of his scouting with General Custer, General Ewing, Buffalo Bill, Kit Carson and many others of lesser fame.

The following is an excerpt from an interesting narrative written by E. C. Cole, an intimate friend and follower of Captain Payne. The story was printed in book form in 1885, one year after Payne passed away. Mr. Cole says:

With the recent death of the Hon. David L. Payne, the great interest already agitating the people, and in fact the whole World on both sides of the Atlantic—the Oklahoma country and the Indian

CAPTAIN DAVID LEWIS PAYNE

Territory—has increased tenfold. That the great mass of the people are crazed over this beautiful country is no wonder to the average man of today.

Among the statesmen, soldiers and pioneers, David L. Payne's name stands foremost in the history of this country—Oklahoma. His sterling qualities, his faithful friendships, unwavering in devotion and constant as a polar star, have endeared him to those who knew him best. Who ever spent an hour in his friendly company without feeling his life's burdens as a feather? Conscious that you were with one whom you were proud to call your friend—a convivial companion and a true gentleman in every sense the word implies.

Rudeness and vulgarity were never a portion of your entertainment in his company. His camp was your home; his noble heart your solace. He had the generosity of a Prince. His purse was ever open in behalf of those around him who were more in need than himself.

When more was needed his industry would procure it. He had friends—indeed who was not his friend? Of his enemies—they were few and of them we need not speak. He was brave and true. He had a heart when touched, full of love and the pity of a woman. He did not live to see the sunshine of his dearest hope matured, but left the field for his successor to see his great ambition attained—that noble country—Oklahoma—opened for settlement by the white man, and the millions of acres of land made into bright and happy homes. Occupied free and unmolested by the poor and struggling homesteaders.

David L. Payne was born four miles East of Fairmount, Indiana December 30, 1836, the son of William and Celia (Lewis) Payne. William Payne was a native of Georgia and went to Franklin County, Indiana when a young man.

Celia Lewis Payne was born in Hawkins County, Tennessee in the year 1799, the daughter of David and Elizabeth (Hawkins) Lewis. Elizabeth was a sister of Rebecca, Davey Crockett's mother.

David Lewis was born in Wales, and came to America with his father, Nathan Lewis and family when a boy. Nathan Lewis fought in the Revolution, serving under General George Washington and later settled in Tennessee, where his family grew up. At the death of Nathan Lewis and his wife the estate was settled and David Lewis went to Franklin County, Indiana with his family, where he entered land on Big Salt Creek. This was the year 1808 or 1809 when Celia was about ten years old.

After their marriage William and Celia continued to live in Franklin County until 1834 or 1835 when they moved to Fairmount Township where William entered one-hundred and twenty acres of land in 1835, the year before Captain Payne was born. It was here on this farm Payne spent his life until he was twenty-one years of age.

At the time of Payne's birth, Fairmount Township was a vast forest of magnificent trees, some of them towering over

one-hundred feet. There were so many species it would seem impossible they could all be growing in one section. To name a few there were the poplar, oak, the maple from which the settlers made their syrup, the sycamore with its silver bark, butternut, pignut, shagbark hickory, white ash, beech and chestnut. The black and honey locust and most important to the women were the black walnut and wild cherry, from which the pioneer workshops produced the furniture which is so eagerly sought today.

Thus, it was Captain Payne grew up in a community where men had literally to carve a way of life out of the wilderness. Trees had to be cut to make room for a home; trees had to be felled to clear the roadbeds, and to make fields for their food and grain. It was not an easy life but they were sturdy men, able to cope with the hardships that were necessary to succeed. Today this entire Township cannot be excelled in this glorious country.

In 1829, according to official records the first settlers came to Fairmount Township to make their permanent homes. They were descendants of those idealists and seekers after freedom, religious enthusiasts that left England in the Seventeenth Century for the new country of Pennsylvania and its neighboring States. After two or three generations there was an unrest which led to an exodus to Virginia and Maryland and almost immediately on to North Carolina and the subsequent moving to the Middle West.

Although those devout Quakers carried little away from the South in their wagons through the dense wilderness, they kept in their hearts a tender regard for the old State, which they had for a brief period helped to build. The counties of Guilford and Randolph were seats of advance thinking in the early years of the Nineteenth Century; the first college in North Carolina was established here. There was a keen awakening even in those early days to the evils of slavery, war and intemperance.

Settling along Back Creek, northwest of the present site of Fairmount, these frontiersmen formed the nucleus for a settlement which grew in numbers and prospered. They cherished high ideals. They possessed rugged characters and were robust in physique. They were a people who did not hesitate to brave hardships and to surmount obstacles. Adhering strictly to the doctrines and discipline of their Quaker faith, these pioneers began holding meetings for worship at the home of Joseph Winslow, where they continued to meet until 1831 when they built a small cabin for their meeting house.

The fame of this beautiful country was fast spreading, and new settlers were coming in increasing numbers. Like the Quakers

Rachel Lewis Suman at the age of twenty-one and her little daughter, Artemisia Suman.

Rachel Lewis Suman in her home at Peoria, Illinois, at the age of 90 years when she received her fifty-year pin as member of the Eastern Star, Grand Chapter of Indiana.

before them they organized churches of their own faith. William and Celia Payne were two of the eleven charter members of the first Methodist Church to be organized in the Township. About this time the Baptists were organizing five miles east of Fairmount and the United Brethren south of town.

Every three months the Friends held an all day meeting known as the Quaker Quarterly Meeting. The Back Creek Quarterly Meeting had a profound influence in the life of Captain Payne. Those Meetings became the center of worship for the entire Township. On Quarterly Meeting Sundays the doors of all other Churches were closed and the members would drive, ride horseback or walk to the Friends Meeting House. Some came from a great distance. In time, as the population grew, the house would fill up and those who could not get in would hold services out under the trees surrounding the Meeting House.

In June 1841, when Payne was five years old, the Friends dedicated their new home, a 40 x 80 foot red brick structure located just East of the old building. Here Payne came in contact and mingled with the highest type of American citizens. Men who were striving to build up the cultural as well as the spiritual side of the community. For twenty-one years, he absorbed those teachings and when he did go West he was ready to cope with most of the obstacles he encountered. It was here Dave met Alpheus Henley, a little Quaker lad who became a close friend and in later years played an important role in his life.

Alpheus Henley was born in Randolph County, North Carolina, July 21, 1836. His parents, Phineas and Mary (Bogue) Henley came to Fairmount Township the following year. The Henley Family is of English origin and as far back as the history can be traced they were prominent members of the Society of Friends. Phineas Henley entered land in 1837, one mile and a half northwest of Fairmount in the Quaker settlement. Although the young lads lived too far apart to become intimate friends, there was a mutual admiration which grew with time, and in later years became a deep and abiding affection. Alpheus attended the Quaker schools and later graduated from college.

Among Dave's early teachers were: Anna Austin, John Simons Sr., Nathan O'Brian, William Kelsay and Mrs. George W. Bowers, wife of the new minister who was sent to the Methodist Church. The Reverend Bowers' duties over the County kept him away from home much of the time so he hired Dave to stay with Mrs. Bowers during his frequent absences.

Mrs. Bowers, a native of Indianapolis, was well educated and immediately took a deep interest in the bright young boy who so quickly assimilated her teachings. He early developed

oratorical gifts which she encouraged, an ability which played an important part in his struggles in the West. By helping Mrs. Bowers in her home the young boy became familiar with customs of the city, and when he did go out into the world he did not feel a stranger.

Fairmount was officially named in 1850, when David Stanfield engaged William Neal to plat and subdivide into lots, four blocks of his farm. Mr. Neal had just returned home from Philadelphia where he had visited Fairmount Park and was delighted with its beauty and grandeur. He suggested the town be called Fairmount, which was generally accepted by the Community. David Stanfield built the second frame dwelling to be erected in the town, on the northwest corner of Adams and Main Streets.

We are indebted to Edgar Baldwin, former Editor of the *Fairmount News*, for the following account of Payne which was given to Mr. Baldwin in 1917, by John W. Furnish, Captain Payne's boyhood friend and who later served as his secretary. Mr. Furnish was the grandson of Benjamin Furnish, well known Judge of the Circuit Court, in Grant County, Indiana: "Furnish relates that his first acquaintance with Payne was formed when they attended school taught by William H. H. Reeder about the year 1851-1852. There were about twenty other children in attendance at this school."

The influence William H. H. Reeder had on the lives of his students in later years can best be told by describing the man himself. Mr. Baldwin continues:

> William Henry Harrison Reeder was known far and near as a peacemaker. Upon many occasions he adjusted differences between neighbors which promised endless litigation and bitter enmities if carried into Courts. Well poised, with a mind keenly analytical, of discriminating judgment, and possessing a broad view of justice and equity, his upright character and profound knowledge of men and affairs enabled him to command the respect and confidence of all who knew him. In several disputes where there were prospects of contention and strife he proved to be the man of the hour. His tact and resourcefulness served him in good stead in rendering quietly and unobtrusively a good deal of important service to his pioneer friends.
>
> Mr. Reeder's home was a hewn-log cabin, which he built in 1844, three years before his marriage. In the early days it was pointed out as the finest home in that part of the Township. Up to the time of its construction there were but very few two-story cabins in the new country of like dimensions and elegance.
>
> It was in this home that many contentions were satisfactorily settled, and friendships which might have been abruptly ended were made permanent and beneficial.
>
> Mr. Reeder's sister, Catherine Reeder Wright, was the grandmother of Wilbur and Orville Wright, the famous "Wright Brothers" of aero-

plane fame. Their father Bishop Milton Wright owned a farm about two miles North East of where Payne was born, and after school closed in Dayton, Wilbur and Orville would spend their summers on this farm. A great niece of Captain Payne and her husband later owned the farm for a number of years.

Since there were no high schools near in those early days, it was the custom of some of the boys to continue their schooling in the local schools until they were grown up. Thus, a man of William Reeder's mental stature had an opportunity to leave a lasting impression upon their adult minds. It was under his tutelage Payne and Furnish spent their last years in Fairmount.

Fairmount Township began overflowing into the town. A miracle was taking place before the very eyes of the young men. Stores were opened, a saw-mill was built which furnished lumber for frame houses instead of log cabins, also a flour mill and a tanyard which supplied the leather for their boots and shoes. A cabinet maker opened a shop and started making furniture for the new homes. Men began to think about using gravel to replace the old corduroy roads constructed with logs. Yes, a miracle was taking place, a miracle which Payne and Furnish tried later to duplicate in Oklahoma.

In 1859 or 1860, a stage line was established from Marion to Anderson, and trips were made from each place three times a week, carrying mail, merchandise and passengers. Fairmount was twelve miles south of Marion on this line, and it did a great deal for this new town.

In 1857, when he was twenty-one, Alpheus Henley in company with Nixon Rush, a Quaker lad with whom he had grown up, went to Coffey County, Kansas where they entered a claim and lived two years, securing title to the land. Alpheus did his part during those border ruffian days in the West to pave the way for the admission of Kansas as a free State.

In 1859, the young men returned to Fairmount, Alpheus entering Bloomingdale Academy, Indiana, with the intention of preparing himself for a professional career. In 1863, he commenced the study of medicine with Dr. David S. Elliott, later attending Michigan University, Ann Arbor and Sterling University, Columbus, Ohio, where he graduated.

During the Civil War he was assigned as surgeon to the Army Hospital in Indianapolis. Around 1868, he was sent to Oklahoma Territory [then Indian Territory] to vaccinate the Indians following an outbreak of smallpox.

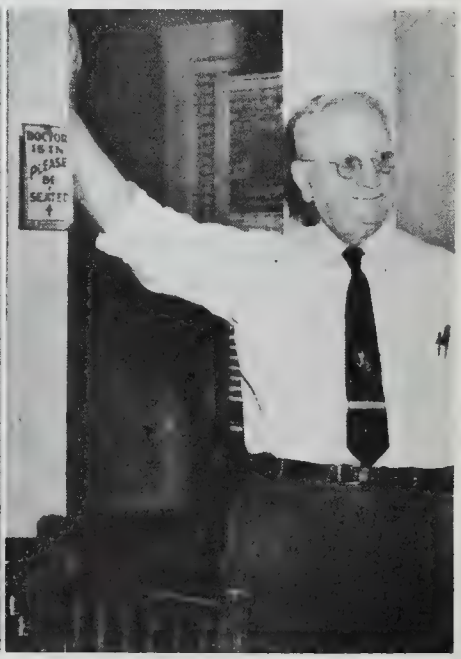
He and his wife had Quarters in what was then Camp Darlington, and the Doctor, with a detail of soldiers assigned to him, spent more than a year, rounding up frightened Indians to vaccinate them, and with vaccine he had to make from other vaccinations as he went along.

Thus it was that Dr. Glenn Henley the son, was born there December 23, 1870, fourteen years before Captain Payne's party was all set to enter Oklahoma on November 28, 1884. Dr. Henley Sr., told his son that he was the first white child born in Oklahoma with the exception of one who was born some time earlier.

Dr. Alpheus Henley returned to Fairmount with his family when Dr. Glenn was about one year old and re-opened his office in what is now a white cottage adjoining the Henley home on Main Street.

John Lewis
Brother of David L. Payne's mother and wealthy merchant of Southeastern Indiana. John Lewis and David Crockett were first cousins.

Dr. Alpheus Henley
Physician at Darlington Indian Agency, 1870.



Dr. Glenn Henley
At Fairmount, Indiana, age 84. Born at Darlington Agency, 1870.

The son grew up and studied medicine three years at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor and another year at the Illinois Medical College, Chicago where he received his degree in 1899.

Returning home he entered his father's office in Fairmount where he continued to practice until his death in 1962, at the age of ninety-two.

Deeply stirred by Alpheus Henley's experiences in Kansas Dave and his brother Jack decided to go West. Mr. Cole continues his story of his friend, Captain Payne:

Payne was bright and forcible in character from his youth, and became more than an average scholar. Being a lover of hunting and adventurous sports, he, in the Spring of 1858 with his brother started West with the intention of engaging in the Mormon War, which was creating great excitement at the time throughout the whole country, and especially in the West. Reaching Doniphan County, Kansas he found the excitement somewhat abated. Inducements being offered, Payne pre-empted a body of land and erected a saw-mill thereon. This investment, while flattering at the start, proved an unfortunate enterprise and young Payne found himself entirely destitute of means. He was placed so to speak upon his own mettle. With an active brain that would acknowledge no defeat, he soon found an occupation of a most congenial character.

At the time of Payne's settlement, Doniphan County, now a fertile and thickly populated section, was the grazing grounds of vast herds of buffalo, deer, antelope, wolves and other wild animals native to the plains. He became a hunter. There he hunted with much success as well as profit. He gradually extended his field to the Southwest until he had penetrated the Mogollon Mountains of New Mexico and explored the course of the Cimarron River through the Indian Territory, and so became familiar and acquainted with the great Southwest. He naturally drifted from hunting to that of scouting.

He was soon engaged by private parties on expeditions, and after a time by the Government. He became the comrade of all the distinguished trappers, guides and hardy characters of that wild country. His intimacy with Kit Carson, Wild Bill, California Joe, Buffalo Bill, General Custer and many others of National reputation, approached companionship.

When the Civil War came Payne was one of the first to volunteer his services, joining the Fourth Regiment of Kansas Volunteers, which was subsequently consolidated with the Third Infantry; shortly afterwards the two were formed into the Tenth Regiment. He served three years as private, refusing during the time six different tenders of commission.

At the expiration of his three years term he returned to Doniphan County, Kansas, and in the fall of 1864 was elected to the Legislature of Kansas, serving in the sessions of 1864 and 1865, during which time while never courting the part of an orator, his influence was pronounced. At the close of the Legislature he again volunteered as a private, taking the place of a poor neighbor who was drafted. He felt that he was better able to stand the hardships, and leave his friend and neighbor at home with his large and dependent family.

Payne upon re-entering the service, assisted in recruiting a

Company for General Hancock's corps of volunteers, and succeeded in enlisting one hundred and nine men, who were devotedly attached to him. Again Payne refused to accept a commission, prefering to remain a private and with his friends.

Payne's services in the volunteer army extended over a period of eight years, first as a private in Company F, Tenth Regiment, Kansas Infantry, from August, 1861 until August, 1864. His second enlistment was in Company G, Eighth Regiment of Western Volunteers, and as a private from March 1865 to March 1866. His third service was as Captain of Company D of the Eighteenth Kansas Cavalry, where he served from October, 1867 until November the same year; and his last service was in the Regular Army, as Captain of Company H, of the Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry, in which he served from October, 1868 to October, 1869. In the meantime he performed other services of great value to the State. He was at one time Postmaster at Fort Leavenworth; also appointed Sergeant-at-Arms, for two terms of the Kansas State Senate; and in 1875 and 1876, he was doorkeeper to the House of Representatives in Congress, at Washington, D.C.

Besides engaging in political campaigns that gave him social and acknowledged influence as a leader, he was an ardent supporter of General Tom Ewing, who after serving a term as Chief Justice of Kansas, sought the great honor of United States Senator. It is credited to Captain D. L. Payne that General Ewing received his nomination through Payne's influence and support; and such were his efforts in behalf of General Ewing that they remained ever afterwards warm and steadfast friends.

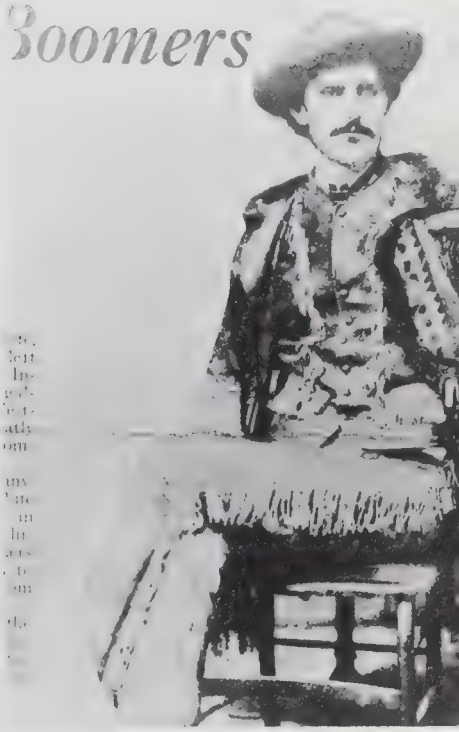
During the Rebellion, Captain Payne was attached to the Army of the Frontier, under General Blunt, and was engaged in nearly all of the memorable conflicts that took place in Missouri and Arkansas, distinguished for the desperate fighting and mortality of men. He was a participant in the battle of Prairie Grove, Arkansas, which occurred on the seventh day of December, 1862; and in this engagement he performed an act of gallantry which entitled him to a place in history. In the hottest of the fight his first Lieutenant, Cyrus Leland, was shot through the arm and then through the right shoulder. The enemy, having recovered from the charge, and reinforced, poured a deadly fire into the ranks of Captain Payne's Company. The commanding officer ordered him to fall back. Captain Payne seeing his brave comrade lying on the ground, while the maddened enemy was charging and ready to trample him under, stepped out of the ranks and lifted up the almost lifeless Lieutenant and bore him upon his shoulders for almost one-half mile to his tent, where surgical attendance saved his life. Lieutenant Leland was afterwards appointed Adjutant-General upon General Ewing's staff, and is now a wealthy citizen of Troy, Kansas, a living evidence of Payne's heroism and devotion.

During the session of 1864 and 1865, Payne opposed the Special Bounty Act, purely upon patriotic grounds. However, the Act was passed; but he refused to accept it for his own use, but donated it to the County which he represented, thus sustaining his honesty and consistency.

After the close of the War, Payne again resumed the occupation of plainsman, hunting—scouting and guarding caravan trains. From nature he was congenial; from his commanding figure and ways, he was held in respect by the most daring desperado and the wild Indians of the plains, and earned for himself the name of the Cimarron Scout.

(Print by courtesy of Bobbs-Merrill Co.)

ortion of the Wild West Show Program of 1884.



David L. Payne

From a photograph taken after the Civil War, suggesting his life as a frontiersman and Indian fighter.

n old newspaper advertisement and circular of Payne's "Oklahoma Colony," 1883

Oklahoma Colony!

A Colony has been organized for the purpose of opening up and settling this beautiful country lying south of the State of Kansas. This Colony will start for that country on June 25, 1883, and will settle upon and occupy this famous and fertile country. This is the last and only chance to secure for yourselves homes upon government lands that have heretofore been held for the Indians. This country belongs to the government and is surveyed and sectionized. Capt. D. L. Payne, the famous Oklahoma agitator, will lecture upon this subject

TO-NIGHT!

fully relating the progress made by previous expeditions to that country, and will give his hearers a truthful description of the country and the present status of the colony.

Every person who desires to secure an excellent home, should not fail to attend the lecture.

The Indian Territory, the courses of the Cimarron River and the Great Salt Basin were as familiar to him as his childhood playground. But few men knew as well the Indian character as he, and his numerous conflicts with the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas and Navajoes were numerous and beyond description.

Captain Payne's mother passed away in May, 1870, and he was called back to Fairmount. After the breaking up of the home his father went to live with another son. As usual every one was eager to hear Dave relate his experiences in the West, however the following story was not told to the family, but confided to his cousin William G. Lewis after all the others had retired for the night. William was eleven years older than Dave and as close as an older brother. He attended William H. H. Reeder's classes until Mr. Reeder advised him to go to a higher school, so he went to Hartsville, in Southern Indiana. In 1852, he was not only licensed to teach but also to preach in the Methodist Church. William taught school for eighteen years and he remained active in the church until his death in 1907.

The two men remained silent for some time when Dave began to speak:

Billy, I have a special reason for telling you about the following incident, I shall explain later. It was near the end of the war, our men were bivouacked for the night. I was lying in my blanket on the ground, when accosted by a ragged Southern lad who had slipped into camp to beg for money. After listening to the boy's story, I reached into my pocket for some change. To my chagrin the only money I had was a five dollar bill. I looked at the hungry lad and then at the bill in my hand, it did not take me long to decide what to do. With a smile I pressed the five dollar bill into the boy's hand and sent him away with a blessing.

Some time elapsed after this incident and in the strenuous fighting which ensued I forgot about the money, when one day the Tenth Regiment halted on the banks of a stream.

The hot dirty soldiers were soon taking advantage of this opportunity to refresh themselves in the cooling water. I removed my boots and was sitting on the bank dangling my feet in the stream thoroughly relaxed and enjoying the water as it flowed by when my attention was attracted to what I thought was a leaf up stream which was slowly coming toward me.

For some unaccountable reason I did not take my eyes off of the leaf and as it passed where I sat I reached out with a stick and pulled it in. Picking it up I was amazed to find it was not a leaf at all, but a ten dollar bill. Instantly I recalled the bill which I had given to the Confederate lad and my eyes filled with tears as I began to quote: "Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days."

As Dave Payne finished his narrative he said: "Billy, I realize how uncertain my life is. If I am taken before you, I want you to preach my funeral and take that for your text."

It was a sad moment for both men, words were not necessary. Dave knew that William would carry out his every wish. William knew what a dangerous life his cousin lived and he had a premoniton that he would be called upon to use that text.

In the year 1870, Captain Payne removed to Sedgwick County, Kansas near Wichita, and the following year he was again elected to the Legislature, from Sedgwick County; through his influence Sedgwick County was divided and a new county was formed from the Northern portion and called Harvey County. In the redistricting, one of the longest townships was called Payne Township, and for many years it was his home where he owned a large ranch about ten miles east of Wichita.

In the Spring of 1875, William Payne passed away and Dave was again called home. The estate was settled and Captain Payne spent a few days visiting with his family and friends. As usual he and Dr. Alpheus Henley met and discussed their favorite subject, the Unassigned Lands known as the "Oklahoma Country." They both felt that this central region of Indian Territory, through the treaties of 1866, was a part of the public domain and the Government should recognize it as such. Dave also contacted his boyhood friend John Furnish.

Mr. Furnish served three years in the Thirty-fourth Indiana Infantry during the Civil War under Col. Ab Steel. He lost his left arm while in service at Algiers, Louisiana. After his talks with Henley and Furnish, Dave became more determined than ever to get the Government to open up that "Beautiful Land" for settlement. Before he left for Kansas he had the promise of Mr. Furnish to act as his secretary in any movement which he might start. He states:

In 1879, Captain Payne became interested in a movement for the occupation and settlement of a district in the Indian Territory, known as Oklahoma, which in the Indian language, signifies Beautiful Land.[1]

[1] Published statements of enthusiastic supporters of "Payne's boomers" are found in early newspaper accounts, pamphlets and books giving the meaning or significance "Beautiful Land" for the name "*Oklahoma* in the Indian language." The fact in history relating to the name "Oklahoma" is that this name applied to the Indian Territory (now the state of Oklahoma) is found in the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty of 1866. This name *Oklahoma* is from the Choctaw language and means "Red People," (synonymous with the English term "Indian"), from the Choctaw words *okla* meaning "people" and *homma* or *humma*, meaning "red." Provisions in the Indian treaties of 1866 (Five Civilized Tribes) for these five Indian nations and other tribes settled by the Federal government in Indian Territory a few years after the Civil War, to be organized regularly under a territorial government were not carried out. However, the name "Oklahoma" became popular, and appears in a number of acts introduced in Congress that were never approved, through the years. The "boomers" took up the name, advertised it, and later it was applied

This Beautiful Land is located in the heart of Indian Territory, and comprises an area of fourteen million acres of the finest land on the American Continent.

Captain Payne claimed the right to settle on this land under the treaty made by the Government with the Indians, in 1866, by which this district was ceded to the United States and became a part of the public domain and was actually surveyed and set apart as such.

Through his personal endeavors a large colony was organized for the purpose of entering and settling upon these lands. The colony moved early in December, 1880, and first assembled upon the borders of the Territory, near Arkansas City, on the banks of Bitter Creek; and after organizing upon military basis moved along the State line to Hunnewell, where they went into camp.

The colony was closely followed by the United State Cavalry under the command of Colonel Copinger, who had previously informed the intending colonists that any attempt to enter the Indian Territory would be forcibly resisted, the President of the United States having issued a proclamation to that effect.

At Hunnewell, the troops occupied one side of the Creek and the Colonists the other. The latter remained in camp for three days, receiving a great many recruits from Western Kansas. On Sunday, the 12th, the camp was crowded during the day with the inhabitants of the surrounding country, who came—some from sympathy and some from curiosity. In the afternoon there was a dress parade by the colonists, and fully six hundred men were in line.

The wagons numbered three-hundred and twenty-five, with a goodly number of women and children. During the afternoon of this memorable Sabbath day the colonists held Divine service, conducted by the colony chaplain. The United States troops were invited to attend, which they did, officers and soldiers. The services were opened by that old familiar air, 'America,' and the text was from Exodus: 'The Lord commandeth unto Moses "to go forth and possess the promised land." Appropriate hymns were sung and the services were closed with the rendition of The Star-Spangled Banner. The feelings and emotions were visibly manifested on all sides, and officers and soldiers affected alike.

The Stars and Stripes were fanning the breezes of a beautiful day from both camps. The wagons were covered by banners with such mottoes as: "Strike for your homes"—"No turn back"—"On to Oklahoma," and sundry other devices. In the evening, council was held as to what course to pursue. It was decided to wait a few days for some modification of the President's orders. Receiving no answer from the petition that had been forwarded to the President, and getting somewhat uneasy, some proposed to enter the land in spite of the military.

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to the Unassigned Lands (unassigned as an Indian reservation). Thus this tract of nearly 1,880,000 acres was sometimes called "Old Oklahoma" by those who made the "run" and settled here in April, 1889. The western part of the present state was organized as "Oklahoma Territory" by Act of Congress in 1890, and seventeen years later the last "Indian Territory" (eastern part of the present state) was united with "Oklahoma Territory" to form the 46th state named *Oklahoma*. —Ed.

A meeting was held on the thirteenth day of December, at which Dr. Robert Wilson of Texas, was appointed a committee of one to go to Washington, D.C., and see if something could be done at once to relieve the critical situation of the colonists. On the fourteenth day of December the colony moved to Caldwell, some thirty-five miles where they were joined by five more wagons and twenty men.

The Mayor and a long procession of citizens escorted them through the town, ladies waving handkerchiefs and men and children cheering. The troops moved along with the colonists without interfering with their progress. The day following, a mass meeting was held by the citizens of Caldwell, resolutions were adopted indorsing the movement to settle these lands, and asking the President to order the troops to accompany the colonists to Oklahoma as an escort.

Being unable to induce Congress or the President to move in their behalf, the colonists became restive and shortly afterwards—Captain Payne having been arrested by the United States authorities—charged with trespassing upon Indian lands—and thus deprived of their leader the colonists temporarily disbanded.

Captain Payne was taken to Ft. Smith before the United States District Court, Judge Parker presiding, and on the seventh day of March, 1881, was tried before the Court. Captain Payne was ably represented by Judge Barker of St. Louis, Missouri, who argued at length the Treaty of 1866.

The question raised by Captain Payne's arrest involved directly the nature and validity of the treaty, and hence means were offered for testing a point upon which the Secretary of the Interior and the ablest lawyers of the Country were at variance, the latter holding that Oklahoma was a part of the public domain and subject to settlement the same as other public lands.

Captain Payne at this trial was nominally bound over under bond of $1,000. not to re-enter the Territory, and return home.

Since the above arrest Captain Payne has made four well-organized expeditions into the Territory, each time safely landing upon the Oklahoma lands, and there laid out towns—located farms—plowed and planted, built houses and has as often been turned out by the United States Military, seen his property destroyed before his eyes and forced to the Kansas line and turned loose, he each time demanding a trial before the Courts.

His last expedition was in the Spring and Summer of 1884. He had with him two hundred and fifty wagons and about five hundred men, all being dispersed by the United States troops and escorted to the Kansas line. Captain Payne and his officers were arrested and dragged through the Territory to the Texas line, thence back to the interior of the Territory—marched on foot and often suffering for the want of food and water, the object seemed to be to wear them out; and then taken to Ft. Smith where they were refused a trial; then taken from there to the United States Court at Topeka, Kansas, where public sentiment finally demanded a trial, which was accorded at the fall term of 1884, which resulted in a decision that he was guilty of no crime; that the lands upon which he sought to settle were public lands.

Elated with this decision, he returned to Wichita, Kansas and though shaken in health from exposure and exhaustion, he at once

proceeded to gather about him his faithful followers. He soon found himself with the largest and strongest expedition that he had ever yet organized, and in a few days he would have marched at its head to the promised land when suddenly—on the morning of November 28, 1884, while at breakfast at the Hotel de Barnard, in Wellington, Kansas, he fell dead in the arms of a faithful servant. He died without pain or struggle.

His body is buried in a metallic casket at Wellington, Kansas, and was followed to its present resting place by the largest concourse of people that ever gathered together for a like purpose in Southern Kansas. They numbered many thousands. The time will come when his body will find a permanent resting place beneath a monument erected to him in the great square of the Capital of the State of Oklahoma.

Personally, Captain Payne was one of the most popular men on the Western frontier. He was a natural-born scout and inured to the hardships of the Western frontier. His mother was a cousin of the celebrated David Crockett, for whom he was named.

Captain Payne was never married.

Word of Captain Payne's death was sent by wire to Dr. Alpheus Henley and it was he who carried the sad news out to William G. Lewis.

It was late Thanksgiving Day and before the time of telephones, so Oliver, William's son riding horseback, informed the family and friends, and told them his father would hold funeral services the following Sunday morning.

The Pleasant Grove Meeting house was filled when William began to speak. He told them the story which Dave had related to him and then announced his text: Ecclesiastes, Chapter 2, verse 1: "Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days."

Thus, the family and friends of Captain David L. Payne said good-bye to his memory.

Mr. Baldwin later paid this tribute to Captain Payne:

Perhaps no other man born and reared in Fairmount Township attained to such distinction in frontier work and in building up of the great West as did Captain Payne. He was as dashing and picturesque in real life as he was in his personal appearance. Long after he had departed for the West he continued to make visits periodically to his old home.

Gabrille Havens, who remembers Payne quite well as a small boy, relates that he was precocious, witty and possessed an abundance of initiative.

Payne offered no resistance to the orders of the Territorial police, and quietly instructed his people to calmly submit to lawful authority.

The arrest of Payne, Couch and Smith, his lieutenants, had the desired effect. Payne's purpose was to start an agitation which would

create a sentiment favorable to his project. Events which followed later showed his calculations to have been correct. He was at no time hostile to the Government. He always recognized the right of properly constituted authority to eject his people from the Territory, but it was his firm conviction that Oklahoma should be opened to the public for settlement, and he was impressed with the idea that already this important step had been too long deferred by the Government.

During this prolonged fight, which covered a period equal to the duration of the Civil War, Captain Payne became a National figure. He had the sympathy and support of many followers in various parts of the United States.

His printing press, on which he printed the first newspaper ever published in Oklahoma, was seized by the authorities and thrown into the Chikaskia River. It is related before the expedition began its march Payne prepared a map for the location of Oklahoma City.

Had Payne lived to see the Territory thrown open to settlement, he would undoubtedly have been elected Governor or one of the first United States Senators from Oklahoma.

Captain Payne was a natural orator of great magnetism and considerable power. His language, though not of the finest quality was nevertheless logical and convincing. His power over men was rarely equaled. He was liberal to a fault. No worthy person ever appealed to him in vain for financial assistance. He was a friend of the poor. In the West, when he was in the midst of his tempestuous career, he was known among the people as "Ox-Heart" Payne.

He was always considerate and courteous to all with whom he came in contact. In his personal relations he was always a gentleman, never quarrelsome or rude, and it is said that he was never known to take part in an argument of any kind.

(By courtesy of Mrs. J. Ross Wildman)

Map showing the Indian nations (east side) and Indian reservations (west side) and

OLD GREER COUNTY

*By Annie Laurie Steele**

"Old Greer County" was a fertile region of 2,300 square miles bounded on the east and north by the North Fork of Red River, on the south by what was then known as Prairie Dog Town Fork, and on the west by the 100th Meridian. Between eight thousand and nine thousand settlers had taken land in the area under Texas law, and Greer County, Texas, had been organized in 1886 with Mangum as its county seat. Most of these homesteaders came from Tennessee and Texas. Movement into good farm land between the forks of Red River continued until 1896. On the day of the Supreme Court decision declaring the region a county of the Territory of Oklahoma, President Cleveland issued a proclamation warning against further settlement until such time as the status of all claimants might be determined.[1]

The E. M. DeBerry family were typical of the Texans who had moved into Greer County, Texas, during these years. Chartering a car from Wortham in Freestone County in 1890, the family loaded their belongings and rode by train to Vernon, where they purchased a covered wagon for the remainder of their trip.

Accompanied by two or three other groups who had joined them in Vernon, they proceeded then to Doan's Crossing over the Red River and up the Great Western Trail to the half section where they were to homestead, twelve miles southeast of Mangum. The land lay between Salt Fork and North Fork of Red River. On the east and north lay rugged granite formations of the Wichita Mountains; on the west the sharp rim of the Gypsum Hills. The soil was deep, rich loam near the western edge of the Red Bed Plains Region.

Their neighbors across the northern boundary were the Cheyennes and Arapahos who would soon sign an agreement to give up 4,300,000 acres for white settlement.[2] Beyond the moun-

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* Annie Laurie Steele graduate of Southwestern State Teachers' College with major fields in Social Studies and English, has done graduate work at the Texas Woman's University, and has a Master's degree in education from the University of Oklahoma. She is a native of Southwestern Oklahoma, her grandparents having settled in "Old Greer County" when it was counted a part of Texas.—Ed.

1 Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma A History of the Sooner State* (Norman, 1954), pp. 301-302.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 299.

tains to the east were Wichitas, Kiowas, Comanches, and parts of small tribes who lived in the Leased District still owned by the Choctaws.[3]

Contact between settlers and the Indians was infrequent, however. Indians were invited to Fourth of July celebrations and promised barbecued beef in return for their performance of war dances in ceremonial dress. Occasionally white children on plum picking expeditions would see a group of Comanches or Kiowas moving along with their travois, women and children walking, the braves riding.

As with other frontier people, success and progress were mixed with hardships, disappointments, experiences of learning through their mistakes. Sometimes discouragement and loneliness were part and parcel of their lives.

The first task was to construct a temporary house, a half dugout, in which to live until lumber could be hauled by wagon from Vernon or Quanah to build their frame house. The two older boys, 15 and 13, were given the responsibility of making these long trips while the two adults and older daughter carried on work at the homestead. On each trip the boys brought back building materials, food supplies and some coal for fuel. If the stock of coal ran out between trips, they gathered mesquite roots and buffalo chips to burn. Sometimes they drove to a creek bottom searching for wood or even to Indian Territory, where U.S. Marshals enforced restrictions on the kind of wood that could be taken.

Another problem was that of providing a dependable source of drinking water. Since well water proved to be bitter with gypsum, it was necessary to dig cisterns to catch rain water as it drained from the roof.

Unpredictable extremes in the weather ranging from drought to floods, from burning southwest winds in the summer to bitter cold northers in the winter had to be taken into consideration. Sprouting seeds would dry out if planted on ridges as was

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[3] Edward Dale, *Oklahoma, The Story of A State* (Evanston 1950), p. 248. (The late Grady Lewis, Choctaw Attorney, after twenty-five years of effort at Washington, D.C., secured a settlement of the Choctaw "Leased District Claim" in 1951. The U.S. Court of claims rendered judgement through decision of the "Indian Claims Commission" [created by Act of Congress, 1946] for $3,500,000 which was paid out a few years ago per capita to the enrolled Choctaws and Chickasaws and the descendants of deceased members whose names appear on the final rolls of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations in 1902. This old Choctaw claim for the "Leased District" [organized by Texas as "Greer County" and attached to Oklahoma Territory by decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896] was the first decision in favor of an Indian tribe in the history of the "Indian Claims Commission."—Ed.)

customary in east central Texas; they must be planted down in furrows. A high March wind could bring a dust storm that stripped the fields of plowed earth, piling it into the fence rows and on pastures pinned down by native grasses. Drought might be followed by floods that sent crests of water roaring over the banks of Salt Fork and inundating the farms along Bitter Creek. Blue northers, blizzards, and snowstorms made caring for livestock a great problem.

Rumors drifted in about families who were going back to wherever they came from; they were offering to sell at a bargain all their tools and homestead improvements. One housewife from Tennessee said that she could no longer bear to hear the wind howl and groan and moan. "I could kiss a yellow dog if it came from Texas" was a saying that mirrored some of their nostalgia, if they were former Texans.

And yet most of these early settlers stayed, and most of those who stayed prospered. An Act of Congress on January 18, 1897, permitted old settlers to file upon the 160 acres already occupied and to purchase an additional quarter of section at one dollar per acre.[4]

When crops were good, houses and barns were improved. Gardens and orchards grew. Though less profuse in growth and bloom than in Texas, some of the hardier flowers that gave pleasure included lilacs, "Seven Sister" roses, wisteria, honeysuckle, and flags. Groves of trees, mostly black locust, were planted as a wind break and for shade. Churches and schools had been an important part of their lives before the move to Greer County; they now served as community centers as well as for worship and a few months of schooling each year.

A welcome diversion in their daily lives was the arrival of some traveller who was passing through the county. Regardless of who he was or his status, he was received hospitably, given the best available food and lodging, and invited to stay as long as he desired. An offer to pay for this hospitality was considered an insult. Many of these visitors were drummers or peddlers going from one town to another. Some were on their way to see relatives in Texas, Kansas, or Indian Territory. Others were on the road because that was the life they chose. All were welcome.

Another highlight for young and old was threshing time when bountiful meals were prepared and heaped on the table to feed the young men of the neighborhood who came to help thresh the grain. This same spirit of neighborly helpfulness was observed at butchering time or when a woman needed help to "get a quilt out of the frames." Regardless of the severity of

[4] McReynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

the weather or the extent of the epidemic, there was always someone to help out when there was illness in the family.

They learned to accept the fact that one of the most dependable circumstances in their lives was the inconsistency of the weather. A scorching hot summer with burning southwest winds could end in soaking fall rains and pleasant "Indian Summer" that helped lighten the onerous chores of picking the sparse cotton and gathering stunted feed crops in preparation for winter.

Time spent indoors during a blowing snowstorm that piled drifts as high as the fence posts led to ingenious construction of bob sleds by the boys, while the girls popped corn, parched "goobers," or pulled molasses taffy. This severe winter would probably be followed by a mild spring with frequent light rains that turned pastures and roadsides into a riot of wild flowers: field daisies, poppy mallow, sensitive briar, prickley poppy, gaillardia, and sunflowers.

In those seasons when torrential rains came, the short lived ponds of water were used for floating improvised rafts or tubs as boats. An exciting race could be set up by tying string to the legs of bull frogs and following along the edge of the pool or ditch as the racers swam away.

Children made pets of young animals but seldom were able to keep them until maturity. The prairie wolf or coyote submitted willingly as a pup, but his restlessness increased until by the time he was half grown, he could be kept in captivity only by chaining or imprisonment. A prairie dog soon tunneled his way out of the cellar to freedom. The ground squirrel was a cunning baby but too ready to use sharp teeth as he grew up. Terrapins, horned toads, and lizards for pets were more acceptable to the lady of the house than a kitten-like baby skunk.

On clear moonlight nights gay young blades could be heard singing or whistling on their way home from calling on their girls. Sometimes a horse would be tied behind another buggy; at others the lines were simply secured to the dash board, and the driver slept soundly until his horse stopped for the home gate to be opened. Occasionally an all-day trip was made to the Wichita Mountains for a picnic lunch and mountain climbing. Sunday afternoon singing at Mt. Zion Church was well attended by all ages.

During the winter months a party of swinging games or square dancing was kept lively by the folk music of a fiddler. Many years later one of the "fiddlers" was completely unimpressed when a visitor looked inside his violin and read, "Stradivari, Roma, 1711". The fiddle had been his father's, he said.

The following account was written from Arlington, Texas in August, 1963, in a letter by the writer's aunt, Miss Rosabel DeBerry telling about her life in "Old Greer County" after she came here at the age of three years with her parents.

SOME MEMORIES OF A DAUGHTER IN OLD GREER COUNTY[5]

I was only three in 1890 when we came to Oklahoma. Dad chartered a car from Wortham, Texas, to Vernon and then came the rest of the way to Greer County in a covered wagon.

There is very little that I can remember about the trip and our first years of hardship. The first thing I remember was that when we arrived in Vernon, we stayed at a wagon yard. There we met the McCauley and Bell families and Mr. Mart Childress who married Miss Mollie Bell soon afterward. He had come with the Bells to Oklahoma. At the wagon yard everyone sang and had a good time square dancing. Linnie McCauley and I went to sleep and Dad put us up on a big shelf.

The three families all settled within a mile of each other and became the best of friends. There were three girls in the McCauley family and five of us, three boys and two girls. Linnie and I were pals from the beginning.

After we started on our covered wagon journey to Greer County, Mother would let us children get out and walk for exercise and to help pass the time—but not before I had on a freshly starched apron and my new shoes. I stooped down to wipe the dust off my new shoes with the corner of my apron and then glanced up quickly to see if Mother had seen me. Dad looked at Mother and smiled, and I knew that I had got by this time.

I recall our wagon following a buffalo trail through the tall grass, so high at times that one could scarcely see a man on a horse. Finally we came to a half dugout, and Dad said, "Well, this is it!"

Mother replied, "I hope you don't think I'm going to live in a hole in the ground like a prairie dog.

"We will have to make out until I can haul lumber from Vernon to build."

The first night in our one-room dugout, Mother had a nightmare and woke up screaming, "Get me out of here! I'm smothering!"

[5] This account by Miss Rosabel DeBerry can be verified by Mr. Horace Doughty of The State Bank in Martha (Jackson County), or by Mrs. Bascomb Womack of Oklahoma City.

Mother hung a curtain across one corner of our one room house for Mr. Fowdy's bed. He came to help Dad build our new house. Our three-quarter section of land cost us $80.00.

It was hard sledding until a new way of farming was learned. In Texas, seeds were planted on a ridge, but in Oklahoma there was not enough moisture to bring the seeds up. Finally we learned to plant seeds in a furrow, and our luck changed. Mother was so blue she spent the time crying.

Then came the June flood. Hail stones were so big as to break a window sash and broke a knob of the bed post. Horses stampeded and ran into wire fences and were badly cut. When Mother looked out the next morning and saw that our wheat was mowed to the ground and everything that had been planted was destroyed, she was as happy as a lark. "Well, I guess we will load up and go back to Texas now!"

"No, not yet," answered Dad. That brought on another "flood" of tears again.

Water was everywhere; it seemed to reach from the Wichita Mountains on the east to the Gyp Hills on the west. The only land that could be seen was around a prairie dog town. After the water began to recede, Dad and the boys would ditch water into the prairie dog dens. From one den they drowned out a big rattlesnake with ten buttons and ten little rattlers with one button.

The boys liked to make some spending money by gathering buffalo horns and selling them to people going to the World's Fair in Chicago. They felt really prosperous when they got five cents each for the horns.

Our dad had not yet located any milk cows. I was so hungry for milk that I began crying, "I want some milk, I want some milk." Dad stood this as long as he could. He picked up my little tin cup, looked at me, winked, smiled, and sail, "I'll find you some milk." I watched from the window to see where he would get the milk. A nice plump mare with her little colt was tied to a post at one side of the yard. By taking part of the colt's dinner, he was able to come in with half a cup of milk to give me. I swigged it down. It was not as good as cow's milk, but it stopped the tears.

Prairie chickens were so numerous that they were destroying our corn. Dad baited fish hooks on lines with grains of corn and placed them around shocks of corn. About dusk we could see the chickens fluttering around over the ground. They were crated and shipped to the East for money that helped to buy groceries and clothing.

Dad and Captain Porter would go duck hunting. The ducks were hung on the north side of our house to freeze until there were enough to fill a crate. One time some of them were beginning to smell, but we had to put in a few of the questionable ones to fill the crate. He supposed these would be discarded, but instead he received a letter asking for more just like them because they were so mellow and good. That gave the family a big laugh.

One time when the men were gone on a duck hunt, we ran out of stovewood and had to burn buffalo chips. Mother decided to send Edwin, 13 years old, and Albert, 15 years, to Indian Territory to get a load of wood. They drove the 15 miles and loaded their wagon without any difficulty. Edwin was sitting on the load driving wooden pegs into his shoe soles when a United States Marshal rode up to him and asked, "Where is your dad?"

"Gone hunting," the boys answered in unison.

"Throw that wood off," ordered the Marshal.

"If you want it off, throw it off yourself," came Edwin's retort.

Albert was scared and worked like fighting fire to get the wood unloaded. The boys were taken to Fort Reno, and Dad was notified. He went up to get them and pay the fine. There went the duck money. Edwin wanted to stay and work for the family who were boarding him, but Albert came home with Dad.

My father's brother who was a banker at San Angelo, Texas, wrote that he would like for the oldest son, Albert, to come stay with them and go to the Academy there. Our parents talked it over and decided that Edwin was the one who should go to school.

Dad built our school house, but we had only a three-month school. When I started to school I was terribly frightened because Ralph had told me that the teacher would pinch me and pull my hair. When she called me to the front of the room, I froze to my seat. After begging and pleading she finally had to come back to me. I absolutely refused to go any more.

She once came home with the other children and tried to make friends with me. I was parching "goobers" when she came in and exclaimed, "Oh! You are parching peanuts."

I was just at the point of correcting her when Dad spoke up, "Yes, she likes to parch peanuts." I was so happy that he answered and saved my ignorance, for we children had never called them anything but "goobers."

Though the food we ate would seem limited in variety by today's standards, what we had was plentiful, wholesome, and nutritious. We grew beans, and a neighbor, Mr. Doughty, made molasses. So we traded beans for molasses. We would load the wagon with wash tubs and buckets and go to the river or the mountains to get wild plums. Then we had plum jelly, plum butter, plum cobblers, and "plum leather."

To make "plum leather" the fruit was washed and cooked. The juice was drained off for jelly and the plums run through a colander. This pulp was then spread on clean white cloth and put out on a scaffold to dry in the sun. When dry it was peeled off and sacked up for winter pies. The plums were so sour that flies would never come near. But chickens through curiosity would fly up on the scaffold to investigate. Once when Mother had assigned me the chore of keeping watch and scaring the chickens away, Dad came by. He took out his pocket knife and cut tracks right through the leather when it was about half dry. Then he told me to hide when Mother came out. I did, but when she saw those tracks, the fat was in the fire, and Dad had to come to my rescue.

To stop the wolves from raiding our chickens, the boys put a noisy old rooster in a chicken coop, about a hundred yards from the chicken house and set a number of steel traps. When the rooster began in his usual noisy fashion his continuous demands for the beginning of the day in the wee hours of the night, Mr. Wolf would have to settle for a bite of steel instead of the taste of chicken.

One morning our father told us we had ten new baby pigs. One was a runt, and if it was not given special care, it would surely die as the others were so husky they would crowd him away from his dinner. He looked at each of us as if trying to decide, and then he said, "Baby, you can have it if you will feed it and take care of it." I was too excited to finish breakfast. When I followed him to the lot there was the most beautiful sight—ten little black pigs enjoying their dinner.

A few days later Mother called me, "Get up! The box is turned over and your pig is gone." I searched the place over, but no pig. We had been attending a protracted meeting, and I had heard many people pray. So I wanted to pray for my pig's safe return.

Mrs. Bell, half a mile west of us sent me word that there were little pig tracks around her well. Then the next day, Mrs. Price, who lived on the next farm, sent word she had found little tracks around her well. Dad told me not to worry about it any more, for no doubt the wolves had caught the pig by now. But I continued to go around in a daze.

Mother asked me to go with her to draw a bucket of cool water. As I was leaning over the well curb looking into the water, I could see the reflection of big white clouds that reminded me of Heaven, and I began secretly praying for Jesus to help me find my little pet before the wolves caught him. Mother took the dipper and offered me a nice cool drink, but I shook my head, thinking how thirsty and hungry piglet must be.

As Mother lifted the dipper to her lips, she glanced down the road and exclaimed, "What is that little black thing bobbing up and down in the road!" I ran to meet him. The poor little thing had its mouth open and was grunting every step. When I picked him up he seemed to thank me in a contented voice. I have believed in prayer ever since that day. He grew and grew and grew—until he looked like any other hog. At butchering time Dad handed me nine silver dollars and said, "This is for the good nursing you gave the pig." I was almost as happy as I was when my little lost pig returned home.

When Mother received the rent from some land that was left her by her first husband, she and Dad went to Vernon to buy a buggy. While they were gone the boys were hauling peanuts and stacking them in a lot near the barn. Ralph, who was always clowning, jumped off the load and struck a match to light a small bunch of grass. It burned like powder and spread everywhere in no time. Ellen fought the fire with her bonnet until it burned up. Mr. Childress, a mile away heard her calls for help and saw the smoke. He and other neighbors came as fast as they could, tore down the fence lot, and let out the frantic hogs that were about to be burned alive. Our winter supply of sweet potatoes was banked in corn shocks nearby. Some of them were saved, but most of the feed was destroyed.

All of us except Ralph ran out to meet our parents and see the new buggy when they arrived that evening. Mother wanted to know why Ralph was hiding in the closet and crying. Then the sad news was told them. After a few minutes Dad said, "Come on out, Son. I am not going to whip you this time."

One day I found Ralph hiding in the kitchen. He had his hands cupped over his mouth and was chewing. When I asked him what he was eating, he said candy and pointed to the top shelf of the china safe. I opened the lower door, stepped on the bottom shelf, and lunged to grab the upper shelf. The tall safe fell over on me—as antique square sugar bowl and creamer, butter dish, and spoon holder pounded me in the face. There I stood; the dining table behind me was holding me as I bent backward over the edge with my arms stretched heavenward trying desperately to hold the safe. The only pieces not broken were a set of plates and a platter. Ellen had a set of china cups

and saucers to use when her beau came. She cried and said she thought Mother should whip me. I was sore from my waist up and had knots on my head for a week, not from the spanking I should have got, but from those old antiques! And to cap it all, there had not been a stick of candy in the house since Christmas.

Either Ralph or I was sent to get our mail whenever it arrived at Mr. Henry Doughty's little store-Post Office in Martha. If I went after the mail, Mr. Doughty would place it in the saddle bag for me, set me up on old "Bill," hand me a stick of candy, and turn the horse toward home. "Bill" took his good easy time in the right direction, but I did not touch the bridle reins until the last of the candy was gone.

One sad day when Ralph returned from the Post Office, Mother asked, "Where is the mail?"

"Oh, I forgot it!"

"Take the saddle off that horse and walk back and get the mail." Ralph started plodding along. It was three miles to Martha, and the crocodile tears flowed freely.

One Fourth of July, Mangum gave a free barbecue, and everyone went. The Indians were there too. Dad gave me a nickel to buy pink lemonade. That was all I needed to make the day complete.

When there was a good wheat crop, threshing time was a big day, as all the young ladies tried to out do each other in setting a good table for the hands. Always some nice young men came to help with the threshing of the wheat. Everyone was at his best and all enjoyed the feast thoroughly.

Of course, there were huge stacks of straw, and those same young men came back on Halloween to put our new buggy on the tip top of a straw stack. Mother did not appreciate the joke, but Dad had a big laugh when he saw the buggy half way to heaven.

Finally after several years I got all the milk I wanted—my job was to milk our fourteen cows before breakfast. But I did not mind for I sold the butter and saved the money to go to college.

The serious side of our pioneer life was often balanced by much that was comic. No stranger in need of a night's lodging was ever turned away. He was always invited to "make himself at home," and whatever service rendered to him was gratis. One evening Dad was away hunting as usual when an old gentleman on horseback asked to spend the night. Mother told him where

to find the corn to feed his horse and sent Ralph along to help him.

In a few minutes, Ralph came running in and said with great consternation, "That horse is tearing our corn crib all to pieces!"

Mother told the stranger that since our crib was made of corn stalks, he would have to tie his horse some other place. He gave the heated answer, "No horse of mine is going to stand out in the cold while I enjoy a warm bed!"

They exchanged a number of angry words and finally Mother said, "Get out! Get out or I will put you out."

He made a mental inventory of her five foot two inches height, her slender frame, the starched clean apron, the erect imperious carriage of her head, and reached a decision. After his leisurely departure, Miss Alice Aycock, the school teacher who was rooming with us, laughed and asked, "Just how were you going to put that man out?" We were all frightened, but enjoyed a good laugh after it was over.

A couple of drummers spent the night with us one warm spring night. The wood-burning heater with its stove pipe through the upstairs bedroom had just been removed from the combination living room-bedroom where the men were sleeping. Until someone had time to close the opening in the usual manner with a piece of board, a paper was laid over it.

The next morning when Mother started to tiptoe across the room for her clothes, she stepped right into the hole, and her leg went through the floor just over the visitors' bed. Dad thought it was hilariously funny. Mother said, "They had better not laugh or they will not get anything to eat for their breakfast!"

When Mother refused to accept their offer to pay for their lodging, one of the drummers threw a fifty cent piece on the table as they departed. Dad remarked, "That was for the free leg show you gave them."

MY PIONEER HOME IN OLD GREER COUNTY

*By Laressa Cox McBurney**

It was early in the spring of 1891 that my father, step-mother, little brother and I set out from Vernon, Texas to our new home in Greer County, Texas. This area lay between Red River and its North Fork and was known by us as "The Disputed Territory." Texas held that the North Fork was the boundary between Texas and Oklahoma Territory and that Greer County belonged to Texas. The United States claimed that Red River was the main channel of the stream, and was the dividing line which would make Greer County a part of Oklahoma. The matter was not settled until 1896, when the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the noted case "United States vs. Texas," in favor of Oklahoma. So in 1891, we were not really leaving Texas.

We had lived in Vernon two years. Long enough for Papa to decide that he wanted to remain in the West instead of in Fannin County, Texas where he had lived since he came from Tennessee as a young man of twenty.

Mr. Edwards, Papa's father-in-law had taken up a relinquishment in Greer County and had written Papa that there was a good quarter-section of land adjoining his place which could be bought reasonably and now we were going out to take possession and homestead the claim. Papa had bought it for $1.50 an acre.

The distance to Mr. Edwards' place was about thirty miles. The roads were poor and there were two unbridged rivers to cross—the Pease near Vernon and the Red River. Papa said we must be on our way by sun-up. Our covered wagon was loaded with our household goods and we made slow progress because there was much sand and especially when we approached the rivers, there were sand dunes. Our team was a pair of big Percheron mares, but Papa gave them frequent rests at the worst stretches.

I recall little about the trip until we stopped for lunch at the Old Doan's Crossing—later known as the Western Crossing Cattle Trail or Dodge City Trail. We found a clean sandy spot in the shade of a grove of young cottonwoods and while Papa fed and watered the team and Elizabeth set out our lunch which she had prepared the day before, I took off my shoes and played

* Laressa Cox McBurney, well known poet in Western Oklahoma and Past President of the State Poetry Society, contributes the reminiscences of her childhood in Old Greer County to this number of *The Chronicles*. Mrs. McBurney makes her home in Clinton, Oklahoma.—Ed.

in the white sun-warmed sand. The river was clear and I tasted a bit as I waded, but it was "gyppy" and the horses did not like it either.

Leaving the river behind, we were soon in the open country and the road improved. The farther we went, the lonelier the country, the sparser the trees, the fewer the houses. The long rays of the declining sun slanted in an unbroken sweep across the prairie. The horizon was lost in a haze of distance. Then far to the east we saw the blue of the Wichita mountains. Later I was to know and love the contour of each peak but now their bulk awed me. Their ever-changing shapes as we drove onward, the constantly shifting colors, the play of sunlight and shade on them when the clouds drifted by, made them seem alive and mysterious, even fearful somehow.

The land was like none I had ever seen before. No trees to break the vastness; no friendly little hills and wooded creeks which I had been used to always. Nothing but grass, no matter where I looked. I wondered if it would always be so strange. Suddenly I was homesick. Elizabeth must have been thinking the same thing because she said, "Oh, it is so big and lonely out here!"

I looked at her quickly to see if she were going to cry, but just then Papa handed her the reins, took a letter from his pocket, spread it out on his knees and began to read, "After you leave Lock postoffice a mile behind, you will come to a rise with two houses facing each other across the road.[1] From there you can see my place with the house and a few trees." The letter was one from Mr. Edwards giving directions which we had followed from the river. "That must be it," Papa pointed to a house half a mile east of the road and a mile north from where we were. How small the house looked. Not like Grandfather's house with big trees around it and barns and haystacks. A half-mile farther on, Papa stopped the team and got out. "This must be the south line of our place." He stooped down and picked up a handful of soil from the roadside. He was excited and spoke with emotion, and we knew the longing he had to be on his very own land.

The team seemed to share his excitement and to know they were nearing their destination. Then a dog ran out and barked a welcome. Old Queen nickered and Mr. Edwards came hurrying

[1] Lock was established as a post office in Greer County, May 25, 1891, with Wm. W. Kittrell as first Postmaster. The site of Lock is shown on a U.S. Land Office map of Oklahoma Territory in 1900, located in T. 1 N., R. 20 West in what is now Jackson County where the name is no longer shown. Lock post office was discontinued, effective in January, 1906, with all mail to Altus.—George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXX (ref. *Cumulative Index,* O.H.S., 1961).

out, followed by his daughter, Miss Mollie, who kept house for him, her brother and her sister, Estelle, who was just two years older than I. All came running out and they greeted us warmly. We were to live with them until our own house was built. The men unloaded the wagon and fed the horses, and we went inside to begin the supper. Estelle and I tried to explore a bit after supper but it was too late and dark except for little fire-flies by the thousands that lit up the yard and then flitted quietly leaving total darkness. In new surroundings, I slept soundly and awoke to a new day in a new world.

I was overwhelmed with distance. The vast skyline was broken in the east by the mountains we had seen yesterday against the afternoon sunlight. Now at sunrise they were drawn into the queerest shapes. Papa said this was due to the refraction of the sunlight when it passes through different layers of heated air. Then he put his dinner knife into a glass of water and it seemed to be bent. I found myself looking often toward the mountains. They seemed more friendly today and much nearer.

Near Mr. Edwards' house were a few cottonwoods. The rustle of wind in their leaves sounded like the chatter of low voices. Estelle pointed with pride to a few scrawny peach trees, just budding into bloom. "These trees were here when we came and so was our good soft-water well." The house had two big rooms and a side-room, which was the kitchen. Upstairs were two attic bedrooms. Adjoining the house with a small entry way was a large dugout. It was used for storage and for a storm shelter. We noticed that nearly every home had a storm cellar and a windmill. I liked to watch this turning in the wind which seemed always blowing.

Papa called and we got into the wagon and drove over to see our place right south of Mr. Edwards' land. But as Miss Molly said there was not much to see. Not a tree on the whole quarter except a few thorny mesquite bushes and scraggly willows on the little draw. It was dry now but after the spring rains would have a few water holes. There were only five or six houses in sight in a radius of five or six miles. These were along the road from Vernon to Altus and on northward to Mangum. There was much travel on this road—wagons, buggies, men on horseback and droves of cattle going from Texas to Kansas markets. This was open range country with few exceptions and the cattlemen wanted to keep it so. "They hate fences," said Mr. Edwards. "They hate us farmers, too!"

"Water is what this country needs," said Miss Molly. "Good soft water is scarce. Much of the water is gyp and not fit to drink and looks like buttermilk when you try to make a lather with soap. Even the stock don't like gyp water. We think you

will strike good water along that draw. It goes right from our well across your place."

To the northwest five miles away, was Altus. We could see several two-story buildings, a water tower and some windmills. "We must go to Altus soon for groceries," Papa said. "By this time we should be getting mail from our kinfolks at Randolph."

"Let's see," he added, "Altus is new. Its postoffice was established only last year, I believe." And Mr. Edwards replied, "That's right. Old Frazer just two miles west, where Salt Fork and Bitter Creek meet, was washed away, so they decided to move to higher ground and named it Altus because the word means 'high'."

"How much of a town is Altus?" asked Papa.

"It is just a few hundred population yet but it is off to a good start and has a few men with money starting a bank, a big dry goods store, and it is easy to find work with building going on. Everything has to be freighted out from the Fort Worth and Denver City Railroad at Vernon." was the reply.

Papa and our neighbors all freighted when they could spare time from breaking the ground for sowing wheat and oats. Ground must be prepared for a small orchard and a garden also.

It was exciting to watch our small house go up and was a red letter day when we moved in. It was snug and clean and had the sweet smell of new pine. What fun it was to arrange our furniture, put our few belongings into place. There was a dear little square, solid walnut table, with a drawer in it where Papa kept his valuable papers locked away. Another table with a marble top where we kept the big family Bible. A prized family treasure also, was the big Seth Thomas clock, a gift from Papa's father. When we went over to tell him goodbye he showed Papa the two clocks and said "Bob, take your pick." They then left it to me and I chose the one which had a dog painted on the door instead of a rooster, for both clocks were alike except for the pictures.

We got our mail from Altus once a week. Oftener if there was anyone passing. Elizabeth's grown-up brother went on Saturday afternoons but he got home too late for us to get the mail until Sunday morning. It was my happy task to go to Mr. Edwards' for it. It was a half-mile away but to walk a mile was a mere chore and I walked it happily and was usually rewarded with letters, my own copy of *The Youth's Companion, The Christian Herald,* which was a weekly then, and the newspapers. I wondered why Elizabeth cried when letters from home came. To me each day was a new adventure, seeing the endless pro-

cession of movers and drovers with their herds of cattle, watching a new neighbor build and move in, helping select a few fruit and shade trees, flower and garden seeds, all from a catalogue. These filled my days to overflowing. Developing our own place was a dream come true for Papa. For years he had longed to be in a home of his own and "not being beholding to any man," as he said. The one thing that bothered him was the lack of a school for me. Altus was the nearest and it was too far for me to go there alone. The problem was solved for the time when Miss Molly was called to Randolph, Texas, by her sister's illness. Grandmother also lived in Randolph, and it was arranged for me to go with Miss Molly and visit her. Grandmother put me in school for the three months, until the term ended.

Summer found Miss Molly and me returning to Vernon where Papa met us and we rode home on a load of lumber. He was building a granary and had to get supplies from Vernon. On one of his trips, he brought me a reader, a speller, a primary history with pictures, a geography and a language text.

"Daughter," he said as I was looking at these rare treasures, "since we do not have schools here, we must have lessons at home." And that fall and winter he assigned me regular lessons and heard me recite them during his brief rest periods after noon and in the evenings. I needed no urging. We both knew that I was not to be behind my grade if and when I could go to a regular school.

I was always going along at Papa's heels. One day a galling incident happened when he was shingling the granary. I had taken my new books and climbed up the ladder to the loft to read while he worked. For a time all went well. I spelled out the hard words, and he pronounced them. Later he took the ladder to another part of the granary and I, ready to get down, called for help. There was no answer. I waited what seemed a long time and called again. "Hold your horses," he replied, "I'm busy." Again I called and again I got no attention and threw down a book. In a few minutes down went another book, the new and prized geography. This brought Papa with the ladder. He waited until I was safely down and then picked up a shingle and paddled me without saying a word. It was one of the few times he administered physical punishment to me. I knew I needed it and I never forgot it.

Papa was a close observer. The iridescence of a pigeon's breast, the blue-green color on a wild duck's wing, the intricate design on a butterfly—none of these escaped him, and he called them to the attention of his children. Once I took him water where he was "laying by" the corn. He showed me a dove's nest. It was poorly made as doves show little judgment in placing and

making their nests. This one was at the root of a tall cornstalk. The nest was undisturbed although it took side-stepping on the part of man and team, and I was cautioned not to injure the eggs.

Papa was only ten when the Civil War came and had just finished fourth grade. He only got through the sixth grade, but he read widely and well and kept abreast of local and national happenings. We could seldom go to church because it was five miles away, and both he and the team needed a day of rest. On Sundays he usually read a sermon to us from the *Christian Herald,* which was then a weekly. We gathered around him and sang hymns for like his father before him, he knew how to read music, and we always had songbooks. Sunday afternoons we often took walks. He liked to look over the crops, but we played, gathered wild flowers and never once felt that life was dull.

Papa had a thirst for knowledge, and passed it on to his children. It was not until years later, of course, that I realized that he was an exceptional farmer for that time. I took him for granted but I loved him devotedly all his life long.

One summer day Elizabeth and I were setting out the dinner when in walked Papa all smiles. "Well," he said, "We are going to have a school of our own this fall and you will not have to go back to your grandmother, Daughter." The men in the district had met that morning, and elected a school board. They arranged to fix up and paint an old half-dugout on the Akers' place and hold a three month school with Mrs. Irby to teach it. She was well known in the community and had taught school several years. She was a large, motherly woman, pleasant faced and jolly and everyone loved her.

Papa traded for a two-wheeled cart and Mr. Edwards furnished a pony. So Estelle and I would drive the three miles to school beginning in November. I sang out a happy goodbye to my parents and little brothers who came out to see me off that first day. I went alone the half-mile to Estelle's home. There was just room in the back for our books, lunch and feed for Dugan.

"Keep that horse stepping Estelle," said her father. "He could trot all the way and it wouldn't hurt him." We crossed a little creek and when going up the slope, scared up a bevy of quail. "There must be thirty of them. Wouldn't they make good eating?" said Estelle. Our mouths watered at the very thought. There was a sudden movement at the side of the road and a huge bull snake crawled out of the grass. Dugan jumped sideways and the cart gave a lurch. "You are not to let the reins slack like that!" I screamed, but she only said "I guess you'd jump too, if you were as close to that snake as Dugan was!" We angled across a pasture and came to a gate. I sprang out to open it and

soon we were at the school. The teacher came out to greet us and was leading two little girls. Some of the large boys took Dugan, and put him in the shed we had "inherited" with the Akers' farm.

After Mrs. Irby read a passage from the Bible, we said the Lord's Prayer and she began to classify the nineteen pupils according to their knowledge and previous schooling. I was placed in third reader, and had a text in language and Geography. Mrs. Irby taught numbers to the primary pupils with little charts and from the blackboard. The most advanced pupils were in sixth grade. Some of the older boys were almost as tall as the teacher. They had been out of school two or more years and found it hard to concentrate. In fact we all did when the first reader class went up front and began to read in that singsong way children have. It almost put some of us to sleep. One day one small boy did go to sleep. Mrs. Irby motioned us to be quiet and straightened him out on the bench and folded a coat under his head. "He is little and has been sick, Let him sleep."

There were no half-measures at Mrs. Irby's school. "Work while you work, play while you play" was her unwritten law. Whatever we did we went at it wholeheartedly. The short recess periods were never long enough, but we came in to our lessons with renewed vigor. And we brought robust appetites to our cold lunches. There was not a squeamish one in the whole school. The boys brought drinking water from the well close by, and teacher and pupil drank from a common drinking cup, all alike unaware of lurking germs. I did hate to drink after the Burns children. They always had onions for lunch!

One December morning, Elizabeth came out with an extra blanket, as I got into the cart. "I believe it is going to blow up a norther. See how blue it is in the north." The wind was upon us before we had gone half way. It came suddenly with a roar. The stinging cold cut our faces and brought tears to our eyes. The hard wind made Dugan hard to prod into more action without keeping her hands out and Estelle said her hands were freezing. We took turns at driving, but even so were almost frozen when Mrs. Irby, who was watching for us, sent out two boys to open the gate and hurry us inside. We plunged our hands in cold water, and soon were comfortable and really enjoyed being the center of so much kind attention. Papa, with the aid of his field glasses had watched from home to make sure we got to school safely but came after us that afternoon because the blizzard was still raging and it had begun to snow. Other fathers came for their children and no child was allowed to leave without an older person to guide him home safely.

Mrs. Irby had no children of her own and she never had a first aid course, but she knew what to do for cuts and bruises,

burns and spider bites. Perhaps the fact that she ministered to their ills, rejoiced in their pleasures and took such a great share in their daily living accounted for her lack of disciplinary troubles. She simply had none. She laughed easily and we all adored her.

The last day of school was unforgettable. That morning Elizabeth said, "You need not take your lunch today. We'll bring it." She laid out for me a dress I liked especially. It had a sash and ruffles and she had briar-stitched the collar and cuffs.

Mrs. Irby dismissed us a little early at noon. Wagons, spring wagons, and buggies from all directions were turning in at the gate. Our parents loaded with baskets or dishpans filled to the brim and covered with towels, came crowding down the steps. The men laid long boards across the backs of the benches and pulled other benches beside them for seats. What a meal was spread before us. Ham, fried chicken, potato salad, deviled eggs, cakes, pies, pickles. There was milk for the children and a pot of coffee was heating on the stove. Mrs. Irby and her husband were special guests, and had been told not to bring a basket. But they provided an orange and a banana for each one, and these were rare enough for a real treat.

After the tables were cleared, there was a program of recitations, dialogues, and songs, each pupil taking part in one or the other. Then report cards were given us. Papa as the president of the school board got up, cleared his throat, and said, "Mrs. Irby, the school board met this morning and we voted unanimously to ask you to teach again this next year. We are glad that we can raise your salary and we hope to have a four-month term." That brought handclaps and the program ended with our singing *"God Be With You."*

As we drove homeward with Dugan tied behind the wagon, Elizabeth said, "We are real pioneers." Papa added, "Yes, we have brought our first term of school to a successful close and we should be thankful."

THE FOLSOM TRAINING SCHOOL

By Hugh D. Corwin

A tall church steeple rising above the wooded slopes of the mountain territory at Smithville, McCurtain County, Oklahoma, attracts attention from State Highway 103 and the surrounding country. This is the spire of Sealey Chapel, now the First Methodist Church of Smithville, and the remaining memorial of Folsom Training School.

The Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, voted in 1918 to establish this Mission School and to name it in honor of Reverend Willis F. Folsom, a part Choctaw Methodist Minister, who spent his life preaching to the Choctaws.

Willis F. Folsom was born February 9, 1825 in Mississippi, the son of McKee Folsom, a half-white Choctaw Indian, whose ancestors came from Hingam, England, in 1636. His grandmother was a Choctaw woman of Mississippi, descended from a long line of chiefs of one of the two great Choctaw clans. Nathaniel, the grandfather, McKee, the father, and Willis Folsom came from the old Nation, east of the Mississippi River in the Choctaw Removal in 1832-33. They settled at Mountain Fork, later called Eagletown. After the two older men died, young Willis Folsom moved to Skullyville, near Fort Smith, Arkansas. Young Willis went to school, was converted and licensed to preach by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1852. He spent the remaining years of his life in the service of his people, as interpreter and Methodist preacher. Such was the man for whom the Folsom Training School was named.

In 1920, the Reverend Walter B. Hubbell, former business manager of Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas, was chosen by the Board of Missions to head the new Folsom Training School which was to offer educational opportunity to both white and Indian in the southeastern part of Oklahoma. When Reverend Hubbell and his wife arrived at Smithville, Oklahoma in November, 1920, they found only the basement of the Superintendent's home completed.[2] During the previous year, Mr. E. A. Townsend and wife had taught ten or twelve local students, but the boarding school was not opened until September, 1921, when dormitories had been built to take care of both boys and

[1] Letter from Mrs. W. B. Hubbell, Memphis, Tenn., teacher in the Folsom School from 1921 to 1933.

[2] *Ibid.*

Sealey Chapel on the Former Campus of the Folsom Training School, Smithville, Oklahoma

Administration Building with Girls' Dormitory in background, Folsom Training School.

girls.[3] There is no available record of the number of pupils in the school in the early days, but Mrs. W. B. Hubbell writes: "There were enough pupils to keep the faculty very busy, and the enrollment grew fast, through the years."

Folsom was a unique school in many respects. It was the first school operated by the Methodist Church, South, to have both white and Indian students. This was an advantage to both races, as each learned the ability and merits of the other, which broadened their sympathies and reduced their prejudices. Many of the Indian tribes of Oklahoma were represented in the student body and, today, most of these former students are leaders in the fields of education and religion.

The school maintained high scholastic and moral standards for its pupils. The faculty was devoted to service. Faculty members held degrees from the best colleges and universities. The aim of the school was not to make stars or to turn out unusual intellects, but to train young people for normal, efficient and happy lives.

Folsom was more than a school. The faculty and ministerial students served the religious needs of the people of the area by preaching and helping in Sunday School work in rural communities. It was also a recreation center. The boys played basketball. The girls had a basketball team, and all students took part in the athletic program.

At its establishment, the school began with the sixth grade and went through the four years of high school. As public schools expanded and the high school enrollment increased, one year of college was added in 1924-25. In 1930 the elementary grades were discontinued. At all times the work of the school was fully accredited in State Schools and Colleges.

In 1923 and 1924, the student body numbered about 250. Of these about one fourth were white. The Indian students were principally from the Choctaw,[4] Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole tribes. A few Kiowa, from Southwestern Oklahoma, attended in later years. In 1923, Reverend Kicking Bird, Presiding Elder of

[3] The faculty in 1921 was headed by Rev. W. B. Hubbell, Superintendent; with the following as teachers:

Miss Iona Mae Miller,	Music
P. K. Merrill,	Mathematics
H. B. Bryant,	Latin and French
Jack Schisler,	Science
Rev. C. E. Nisbett,	Bible and History
Mrs. W. B. Hubbell,	English
Mrs. C. E. Nisbett,	Elementary Department

[4] Informant, Rev. George Saumpty, Kiowa Methodist Minister. Student at Folsom in 1923-24-25.

the Western District of the Methodist Indian Mission Conference, provided scholarships for several young Kiowas to the Folsom Training School. Among those attending from the Kiowa tribe were: Tede Ware, Ralph Ware, Gina Quoetone and George Saumpty. Several years later, Lynn Pauahty and wife, and Conrad Mausape and wife were in the school. These married couples had cottages on the campus where they lived while in school. These Kiowa students from Southwestern Oklahoma traveled by train to Cove, Arkansas, where they were met by teachers from the school who took them in Ford cars over the mountain roads to the school at Smithville.

One of the leaders among the students in the early days was Johnson Bobb, a Choctaw, who became a preacher and a District Superintendent in the Methodist Church. Reverend Lynn Pauahty, a Kiowa, now missionary to the Klamath Indians, of Oregon, is another outstanding graduate of Folsom Training School. It is just by chance that Lynn Pauahty is a minister, for everyone thought at his birth that he would be a Medicine Man. His father, his grandfather and his great grandfather were all Medicine Men and the "Medicine Bag" with all its secrets was passed on to him.[5]

Lynn Pauahty tells wonderful stories about the medicine men. "Dad used to go over to Mount Sheridan and lie at the top and fast for many days. His medicine bag was made out of the tail of a buffalo bull. In the medicine bag was the tail of a swift hawk, the tail feathers of a raven, and the hair from the forehead of a buffalo, tied together like a duster."

When Lynn's father died, his mother moved near the Cedar Creek Methodist Mission at Carnegie, Oklahoma. The Reverend Kicking Bird, one of the first Indian preachers of the area, made friends and converted his mother. Lynn's first memory is of his mother saying prayers at home. When Reverend Kicking Bird went blind, Lynn Pauahty—then a youth—read the Bible lessons out loud in the Church for him. This was his first contact with the Christian religion. He graduated from that into teaching in Sunday School, and then became Sunday School Superintendent.

One day, the District Superintendent asked him if he would like to go to school and train to be a Methodist minister. He worked his way through the Training School, taking small jobs in saw mills for twenty cents an hour. His wife helped out by working as a seamstress for eighteen cents an hour. Since graduation he has served churches among the Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, Osages, Creeks, Poncas and Choctaws. Presently he is missionary to the Klamaths in Oregon. He is popular among the Indians because he understands the Indian way of life.

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[5]*Memphis Mirror,* all church press, March 9, 1956.

The expenses at the Folsom Training School were always low. In 1926 tuition for one semester was $25.00. Board, with furnished room, with heat, water and lights was only $18.00 per month. However, many of the students were not able to meet this expense, so a program for work to pay expenses was gradually expanded until it came to include: The care of the campus and buildings, the preparation and serving of the meals, the laundry, a 1,000 gallon a day canning plant,[6] a dairy, a farm of 300 acres, a fruit orchard, bees, the school electric power plant and water pumping station, a picture show, and a printing office. Here a paper, *The Folsom Forum,* was published twice a month. There was also a wood working shop where furniture was made for the school and for sale. For the boys there was work on the new buildings and sidewalks. For the girls there was sewing, quilt making, fancy pillows and rug making. Many of these items were made for sale.

All students were required to work five hours each week, for the school, without pay, regardless of their financial status. They were shifted from one job to another so they shared all the work. For the same reason no student was permitted to wear silk. Other regulations of the early days of the school, forbid the use of rouge or lipstick and girl's dresses must reach at least three inches below the knee. No liquor or tobacco in any form was allowed.

But it was not all work and no play. There were picture shows in the auditorium and young people's organizations of several kinds. Literary societies and glee clubs provided social life. The athletic teams, both boys and girls, won high honor in the state. The school was located in a beautiful mountainous area, and hikes, fishing and camping were major recreations for students and faculty.

Sealey Chapel, the Church on the campus of the Folsom School, was begun in 1924 with funds from the Board of Missions, a gift of $5,000, from Sealey Alexander, a Creek Indian student who had been converted in a school revival, and gifts from the faculty and citizens of the community. The plans for the building were drawn by Hicks and Emerick, architects of Oklahoma City. The building cost $12,500. It is 40 by 72 feet, with a tall steeple in which hangs a beautifully toned, 1,800 pound bell, a gift of the class of 1928. The sanctuary is large, with high, arched ceiling and has eight beautiful, stained glass windows. The building was completed in 1925. Reverend C. E. Nisbett, now a retired member of the Oklahoma Methodist Conference, was pastor of this congregation for thirteen years while a member of the Folsom faculty.

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6 Informant, Mrs. W. B. Hubbell, Memphis, Tenn.

Folsom Training School, 1924-25 Homemaking Class

By 1930, the school plant, with an estimated value of more than $200,000, had grown to include a two-story administration building, a three-story girls' dormitory, a three-story boys' dormitory, the Superintendent's home, a faculty house, several cottages for married students, a variety store and drug store, storage rooms, a laundry building, the power and water plants, a poultry plant, cattle and hog barn, milking barn and a large wood working plant. All the buildings were of wood-frame construction.

In 1933, *The Depression Came*: The Board of Missions was unable to continue its support. The girls' dormitory had been destroyed by fire on March 11, 1932. There were now other high schools in the area; one in Smithville, fully accredited. The Board of Missions was forced to close Folsom along with other schools and hospitals. The twenty acre campus and buildings were used by the Government for a C.C.C. Camp for two or three years. The campus and farms were then sold. The buildings were torn down and the lumber used to construct homes in Oklahoma City.

The ownership of Sealey Chapel was transferred by the Board of Missions to the local Methodist membership in Smithville. It is in constant use by the community.

In 1963, among those remaining of the faculty members who had a vital part in the making of Folsom Training School are:

Rev. and Mrs. C. E. Nisbett, of Oklahoma City.
Mr. Jack Schisler, of Tulsa.
Mrs. Earl Denham, Bogard, Missouri.
Mr. Bert Flanders, Georgia.
Rev. and Mrs. Bryan Hall, El Paso, Tex.
Mrs. Linda Lane Fowler, Eufaula, Oklahoma.
Mrs. W. B. Hubbell, Memphis, Tenn. (Rev. Hubbell deceased).
Mr. and Mrs. Eugene Stewart, Little Rock, Arkansas.
Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Barr, Oregon.
Dr. P. K. Merrill, Russellville, Arkansas.

COLONEL W. B. HAZEN IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY 1868-1869

*By Marvin Kroeker**

Introduction

William Babcock Hazen (1830-1887) was a part of the great drama of the frontier movement into the Trans-Mississippi West. Twenty years of his life were spent as an army officer on the western frontier. Following his graduation from West Point in 1855 he saw service with the 4th U.S. Infantry, fighting Indians in Oregon, Texas, and New Mexico. In 1859 he was seriously wounded in a battle with the Comanches in Texas.

Hazen rendered distinctive service in the Civil War as a commanding officer of the Ohio Volunteers. He saw extensive action in major campaigns commanded by Braxton Bragg, William Rosecrans, and William T. Sherman. After receiving several citations for his meritorious achievements on various battle fields of the Civil War, he rose to the rank of brevet major general. In 1866, with the reorganization of the regular army, Hazen was made Colonel of the 38th Infantry and transferred to the West.

His tours of duty during a period of almost fourteen years took him throughout the entire Great Plains and much of the Rocky Mountains. He commanded several frontier army posts and fulfilled various special military assignments in Indian Territory and elsewhere. In 1872 he exposed the Army trading post corruption at Fort Sill that eventually implicated Secretary of War William Belknap. He wrote several influential and controversial articles on the Great Plains and also a history of his own military career in the Civil War. In 1880 Hazen was appointed Chief Signal Officer in the War Department, with a rank of brigadier general, holding this position until his death in 1887.[1]

Thus far no complete study has been made of the long and varied career of this important frontier figure. Through an ex-

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[1] For brief sketches of the career of W. B. Hazen see Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army,* I (Washington, 1903); Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds, *Dictionary of American Biography,* VII (New York, 1946); *New York Tribune,* January 17, 1887; Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "General William Babcock Hazen," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XX (December, 1942). For Hazen's Civil War career see W. B. Hazen, *A Narrative of Military Service* (Boston, 1885).

tended period of personal contact and close study Hazen gained a knowledge of the plains region and the Plains Indian surpassed by few other white men of his time. He developed keen insights and fixed beliefs about the future of the Great Plains, consistently advocating and upholding the closed reservation as the solution to the Indian problem. When the reservation system was adopted after the Civil War, Hazen was asked to participate in its implementation. Extensive coercion was necessary to get the Southern Plains tribes, Kiowa, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Cheyenne and Arapaho, to forsake their vast open ranges for restricted reserves in present-day Oklahoma. The winter campaign of 1868-1869 occurred in this context. The exploits, real or fancied, of Philip Sheridan and George Custer are well known to students of the Trans-Mississippi West. Often overlooked or confused is one other aspect of the policy toward the Indians in 1868-1869, namely, to look after the peaceful bands, and prevent their joining the hostiles. Colonel Hazen was specially appointed to carry out these objectives. This paper seeks to clarify Hazen's role in placing the Kiowa, Comanche, and other tribes on their reservations and to describe his activities as a special agent in Indian Territory in 1868-1869.

Colonel Hazen: Special Military Agent at Fort Cobb 1868-1869

The advance of the western frontier by the time of the Civil War created a serious problem with the Southern Plains Indians. The migrations of miners and settlers into their homeland inaugurated over a decade of almost constant Indian warfare in the Great West. The Colorado gold rush of 1859 provided a foretaste of the movement into this area. Few of the 50,000 goldseekers struck it rich; many, however, spilled across the Cheyenne and Arapaho lands after 1859 and established permanent residence. The government officials in 1861 sought to avert a general uprising in Colorado by removing the Indians to a reservation situated primarily between the Arkansas River and Sand Creek in eastern Colorado. Since many of the warriors resented this decision, Indian depredations in the following years increased in number as well as in intensity. Isolated settlements were attacked, horses stolen, immigrants harassed, and overland trade and mail routes generally disrupted.[1a]

In 1864 Governor John Evans and the Colorado officials decided to take things into their own hands in an effort to squelch the Indian resistance. Their efforts culminated in the "Chivington Massacre" on the morning of November 29, 1864. Black Kettle, who claimed to be resting under the protection of the

[1a] Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion* (New York, 1950), pp. 654-655.

military, was among those who luckily escaped annihilation in this surprise attack on the sleeping Cheyenne village. The Sand Creek disaster solved nothing. Indeed, it only served to intensify the bloody fighting which came to be called the Cheyenne-Arapaho War.[2]

In an effort to pacify the hostiles, the Federal government in October, 1865, met for peace talks with representatives of various hostile plains tribes. The negotiations were conducted six miles above the confluence of the Big and Little Arkansas Rivers, on the northwestern outskirts of present-day Wichita, Kansas. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes agreed to make peace with the United States and accept a more out-of-the-way reservation, located partly in Kansas and partly in Indian Territory.[3] The Kiowa, Comanche and Kiowa-Apache tribes gave up claims to central Texas, western Kansas, and eastern New Mexico, receiving in exchange hunting rights to areas of what is now the Texas Panhandle, and that part of southwestern Oklahoma south of the Canadian.[4]

Misunderstandings, dissatisfaction and delays in Congressional ratification made adherence to the Treaty of the Little Arkansas an impossibility. The government, in making treaties, acted upon a legal fiction that the Indian signators had the authority to bind, yet the various chiefs often had little control over their people. After nearly every treaty there were bands or chiefs who maintained that they had not been included. Nevertheless, the government took the position that all terms should be faithfully kept by all members of a given tribe once a supposed leader of such tribe had affixed his mark. It also proceeded to immediately use its specified rights to open roads or lands to white settlers.[5]

Following the Sand Creek Massacre pressure mounted on Congress to revaluate the philosophy and conduct of the existing Indian policy. On March 3, 1865, Congress appointed a commission composed of seven of its own members "to inquire into the condition of the Indian tribes, and their treatment by the civil and military authorities."[6] The committee's report issued in 1867, presented evidence that "much inefficiency and corrupt practice were to be found in almost every branch of the Indian service." Also much of the blame for the hostilities of the past

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[2] *Ibid.*, 657; Donald J. Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyennes* (Norman, 1963), p. 223.

[3] Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties,* Vol. II (Washington, 1904), p. 893.

[4] *Ibid.*, 887.

[5] George E. Hyde, *Red Cloud's Folk* (Norman, 1937), p. 137.

[6] Frederick L. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier* (New York, 1914), p. 287.

and present was placed on the "fire and sword" policy of the military.[7]

The committee's report was widely publicized in the East and led to strong demands for a new and more humanitarian approach to the Indian problem. Congress reacted to this pressure by passing an act on July 20, 1867, which created an Indian Peace Commission. The Peace Commission was to remove the causes of Indian wars, provide just settlement of grievances, and induce the Indians to settle down on restricted reservations. The accomplishment of this, it was hoped, would bring permanent peace to the frontier, acculturate the Indian, and permit the unimpeded development of the West. If the Indians accepted neither the reservation system nor peace offered by the commissioners, then the act authorized the Secretary of War, under the direction of the President, to take military steps to suppress hostilities.[8]

In August, 1867, the Peace Commission journeyed to the West, olive branch in hand, to carry out its lofty assignment. Two large reservations were envisioned for the Indians: one in the Dakota country, for the Sioux and other bands, and the other in Indian Territory, which was proposed as a home for the Southern Plains tribes.[9]

By October the commissioners had arranged for a great Indian peace council to be held on Medicine Lodge Creek in present Barber County, Kansas. After much ceremony, discussion, dissension and consumption of government food, treaties were signed with representatives of the major tribes south of the Arkansas. On October 21, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Kiowa-Apache agreed to relinquish the whole of their ranges in the panhandles of Texas and Indian Territory, and accept a reservation in southwestern Indian Territory between the Red River and the Washita.[10] A week later the Cheyennes and Arapahoes agreed to move to a reservation largely in the Cherokee Outlet, between the Arkansas and Cimarron Rivers. All five tribes swore to give up their nomadic ways, and in general seek to "walk the white man's road." The government in turn promised to provide agents, schools, churches, farms, clothing and food, until the Indians would at last be adjusted to a sedentary way of life. The Cheyenne and Arapaho desire for unlimited hunting ranges was not met but the government did give permission to hunt as

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[7] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1867,* p. 2. (Hereafter cited as *Report*).

[8] *Ibid.,* 4; *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. XV, p. 17.

[9] William Tecumseh Sherman, *Personal Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman,* Vol. II (New York, 1892), p. 435.

[10] Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties,* Vol. II, pp. 977-978, 983.

far north as the Arkansas River. The tribes pledged to refrain from making forays against any travelers or settlements, and to "never kill or scalp white men, nor attempt to do them any harm."[11]

The treaties of Medicine Lodge Creek were not ratified by the Senate until July, 1868, and not proclaimed until August of that year. The delay in the appropriation of funds to put the treaties into effect caused destitution among the Indians, and retarded the work of the Indian agents. Also, during the interim period, whites entered parts of the old reservations and began to make settlements. No effort was made to check this trespass. Thus the Indians were pushed out of their ranges before any provisions were made to care for them on their new reservations. Suspicion, anger, and a return to violence was the result.[12] Thus less than a year after the treaties of Medicine Lodge, war parties were out in force once again.

When Congress failed to act promptly on the Medicine Lodge treaties, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs repeatedly requested appropriations to adequately provide for the Indians in the interim period. Many Republicans, however, were too preoccupied with efforts to "lift the scalp" of President Andrew Johnson to worry about scalpings farther west. Some of the Indians wandered to their newly assigned reservations but, finding no agents present, migrated back to the Arkansas River area. Distributions of annuities were made from time to time at Forts Larned and Zarah. N. G. Taylor's third appeal for money was finally met, in part, on July 27, 1868. By an act of Congress, a sum of $500,000 was appropriated for "carrying out the treaty stipulations, making and preparing homes, furnishing provisions, tools and farming utensils, and furnishing food for such bands of Indians with which treaties have been made by the Indian peace commissioners and not yet ratified, and defraying the expenses of the commission in making such treaties, and carrying their provisions into effect . . . ." This money was appropriated to the Department of Interior but General William T. Sherman, in command of the Division of the Missouri, was designated to expend the funds.[13]

Sherman, when informed of the act of July 27, telegraphed the Secretary of Interior, O. H. Browning, for a clarification of the new duties thrust upon him. He was concerned that the law would lead to conflicts with the Indian Bureau which was already

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11 *Ibid.*, 984-989; Berthrong, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

12 George W. Manypenny, *Our Indian Wards* (Cincinnati, 1880), p. 204.

13 *U. S. Statutes at Large,* Vol. XV, p. 222.

performing similar duties through its agents.[14] Browning informed Sherman that the intent of the law was to provide for special agents who would assist in the big task of getting the Indians moved on their reservations and started along the road to civilization. Sherman was at liberty to select either civilians or soldiers as the agents. He was, furthermore, empowered to assign the agents their specific duties. Browning stated that the regular Indian agents would continue their work as heretofore, "but without, in any manner, interfering with you in the performance of your duties." They would be instructed to cooperate fully "to such extent as you may desire and ask their cooperation . . . ."[15]

On August 10, 1868, Sherman issued General Order Number Four to implement the act of July 27. Two large Indian military districts were designated and special "commanders" were appointed to serve over each. The Northern District, embracing the area west of the Missouri River, within the Sioux reservation, was put under the command of Brevet Major General W. S. Harney. The Southern Indian Military District comprised an area "bounded on the east by the state of Arkansas, south by Texas, north by Kansas, and west by the 100th meridian." Brevet Major General William B. Hazen was selected to head this district and "have the supervision and control of all issues and disbursements [to the] Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Kiowas, and Comanches, and such other bands as are now or may hereafter be therein located by proper authority." $50,000 was set aside for his use in providing for the Indians in this district. The order made Hazen responsible only to General Sherman except in matters "affecting the troops stationed in said district" wherein he would be subject to the commander of the Department of the Missouri, Major General Philip H. Sheridan.[16]

The officers assigned by Sherman were to serve until June 30, 1869, after which they would return to their regular army duties. Sherman's decision to appoint army officers as his special agents, rather than experienced civilian agents already in the Indian service, was based on two considerations. In the first place, he was more familiar with the army form of accounts; secondly, as he frankly stated, he had "more faith in their manner of business."[17]

Hazen, on duty with the 38th Infantry, received on September 2, 1868, official notification of his appointment. Subsequently he learned that Sherman and Sheridan had agreed on an extensive punitive winter campaign to drive the Southern

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[14] O. H. Browning to W. T. Sherman, August 6, 1868, in *Report, 1868*, p. 82.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[16] General Orders No. 4 in *ibid.*, p. 85.

[17] Sherman to Browning, August 11, 1868, in *ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

Plains Indians to the reservations assigned at Medicine Lodge. As early as August 21, 1868, Sherman informed the War and Interior Departments that he had authorized Sheridan to use military force to move the Indians south, killing if necessary. The Indian Bureau, however, demanded assurances that peaceful tribes would be granted protection. The Kiowas, Comanches, and Kiowa-Apaches, according to Central Superintendent Thomas Murphy, "have committed no depredations since they signed their treaty at Medicine Lodge creek, except for a few raids into Texas." These tribes, it was contended, should not be made to suffer at the hands of the military just because of the war activities of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes.[18] Sherman was willing to concede that the peaceful tribes deserved safety and fair treatment. But as for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, he believed that ". . . . no better time could possibly be chosen than the present for destroying or humbling those bands that have so outrageously violated their treaties and begun a desolating war without one particle of provocation . . . ."[19]

Hazen's first assignment in his role as special agent was to assist in separating the peaceful tribes from the declared hostiles. In early September he was sent by Sherman to assemble the Kiowa and Comanche bands at Fort Larned, Kansas.[20] Portions of these tribes, in June, 1868, had left their reservation south of the Washita River in Indian Territory. Since then they had been camped along the Arkansas in the Big Bend country.[21] Together with some Kiowa-Apaches there were approximately nineteen hundred Indians in the vicinity of Fort Larned who claimed to be friendly.[22]

On September 18, Hazen and Sheridan conferred at Fort Larned on means to isolate the friendly Indians in order that the unfriendly could be dealt with in the proposed frontier army manner. It was agreed that a council with the peaceful tribes should be held to warn them that unless they moved to their reservation, they, too, would be attacked by the troops. Sheridan agreed to furnish rations for their journey to Indian Territory and Hazen agreed to accompany them. Old Fort Cobb, near the confluence of Pond Creek (later called Cobb Creek) and the Washita River, was designated as the site for Hazen's headquarters and the rendezvous for the peaceful Indians. September

[18] Thomas Murphy to Charles E. Mix, September 19, 1868, in *ibid.*, p. 75.

[19] Sherman to J. M. Schofield, September 17, 1868, in *ibid.*, p. 77.

[20] *Annual Report for the Secretary of War for the Year 1868*, p. 4.

[21] P. H. Sheridan to W. B. Hazen, September 19, 1868, in W. B. Hazen, "Some Corrections of Life on the Plains," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, III (December, 1925), p. 300. (Hereafter cited as "Some Corrections").

[22] Hazen to Sherman, June 30, 1869, in *Report, 1868*, p. 388.

19 and 20 were spent in council with all the principal Kiowa chiefs and Ten Bears of the Comanches. Hazen assured them that their only possibility of safety was to accompany him to Fort Cobb and remain there under his protection. The chiefs at first balked, but finally consented to go.[23] Sheridan later maintained that the chiefs accepted the proposition "only as a decoy to get their families out of the proximity of the post."[24]

Since it required about ten days to get the rations ready for the long journey, the Indians were told to hunt buffalo during that time. After ten days they were to return for their rations and then proceed to Fort Cobb. Shortly after their departure a flurry of Indian raids occurred along the Smoky Hill and elsewhere. When the Kiowas and Comanches failed to return at the stipulated time, Sheridan assumed they had joined the raiding Cheyennes and Arapahoes, but Hazen found "no evidence of that fact."[25] Hazen reasoned that the Indians, knowing they were under suspicion, would proceed directly to the reservation on their own. Thomas Murphy agreed with this latter view.[26] Waiting until October 11 for the return of his Indians, Hazen then decided to set out for Fort Cobb, on the assumption that the tribes would meet him there. Since there were not enough troops available to provide him with an escort he decided to skirt the Indian country by proceeding via Forts Smith, Gibson, and Arbuckle.[27] Prior to his departure, Hazen instructed Major James Roy at Fort Arbuckle to assign an officer to supervise affairs at Fort Cobb until he could arrive. Captain Henry E. Alvord, 10th Cavalry, was dispatched to the fort in response to this request. He was accompanied by two companies of troops from the 10th Cavalry commanded by Lieutenant Philip L. Lee.[28]

Also in October, Commissioner Taylor ordered agents A. G. Boone and Edward W. Wynkoop "to repair without delay" to Fort Cobb to assist Hazen in caring for the Indians who might choose to gather there.[29] Wynkoop, the Cheyenne and Arapaho agent, did not trust Sheridan nor his troops. He feared that he was being used as " a decoy to lure Indians into a trap at or

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[23] Hazen, "Some Corrections," pp. 300-301; Hazen to Sherman, November 10, 1868, *The Sherman-Sheridan Papers* (University of Oklahoma Transcript). (Hereafter cited as *S-S Papers.*)

[24] Sheridan to Sherman, October 15, 1868, *The Sheridan Papers;* For a study of the establishment and important events associated with the early history of Fort Cobb see Muriel H. Wright, "A History of Fort Cobb," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXIV (Spring, 1956), p. 62.

[25] Hazen to Sherman, November 10, 1868, *S-S Papers.*

[26] *Report, 1868,* p. 258.

[27] Hazen to Sherman, June 30, 1869, in *ibid., 1869,* p. 388.

[28] Captain Henry E. Alvord to Hazen, October 30, 1868, *S-S Papers.*

[29] *Report, 1868,* p. 258.

near Fort Cobb." Rather than becoming an "accessory" to such a "crime," he resigned as agent.[30]

While Hazen was on his roundabout journey to Fort Cobb, Captain Alvord, his "stand in" was busily occupied. Several hundred Indians were already in the vicinity when Alvord arrived at the fort. Before the end of October, the chiefs Hazen had met at Fort Larned reported to the post, thus fulfilling his trust in them. The Indians told Alvord they had not returned to Fort Larned because they feared some trick and because they did not particularly like to travel with soldiers. Since neither Hazen nor the promised supplies had arrived, the chiefs decided to hunt on the Canadian in the region of the Antelope Hills. They promised to return as soon as Hazen made his appearance but gave the opinion that they did not really expect him to arrive.[31] On October 31, Alvord held council with representatives of the Caddoes, Anadarkoes, Wichitas, Wacos, Keechies, Towacaroes, and three Comanche bands. He sought to assure these Indians that Hazen and their promised food supplies would arrive shortly. The Comanche bands were especially restless. They threatened daily to break camp and return to their old ranges unless their needs were supplied.[32]

Captain Alvord had few subsistence stores at his disposal. It had been assumed that Hazen would arrive much sooner than he did and so adequate provisions had not been made. As early as September 25 the commanding officers at Fort Arbuckle reported they "were expecting Hazen daily." S. T. Walkley, acting agent of the Kiowas and Comanches, had used this "information" for nearly a month in an effort to induce his Indians to remain near the agency.[33] Henry Shanklin, the harassed agent of the Wichita and affiliated tribes, also anxiously looked for Hazen's arrival. Shanklin finally left the agency on October 11 because he thought Hazen would soon be there and could take care of his disgruntled charges for him.[34] On November 5, Alvord reported that the situation at Fort Cobb was precarious. He could no longer placate the Indians with only beef, and his supplies of flour, sugar and coffee were nearly exhausted. He had on hand only one-half a barrel of coffee and 170 barrels of flour to be distributed among some 1,700 Indians. The troubled officer was convinced that without additional stores he would

[30] Edward W. Wynkoop to Peter Cooper and others, December 23, 1868, *The Sheridan Papers; New York Tribune,* December 24, 1868.

[31] Alvord to Major James P. Roy, October 30, 1868, *S-S Papers.*

[32] Alvord to Roy, November 5, 1868, *ibid.*

[33] Captain J. B. Rife to S. T. Walkley, September 25, 1868, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81 MSS, Central Superintendency, Kiowa Agency, National Archives, Washington, D.C., Bizzell Library, Norman, Oklahoma.

[34] Henry Shanklin to Hazen, October 11, 1868, *S-S Papers.*

be unable to keep the Comanches at the fort.[35] Two days after this gloomy report Hazen finally arrived via Fort Arbuckle, accompanied by a squadron of cavalry and a company of infantry.[36]

Hazen immediately launched into his work. In a briefing session with Alvord he learned that there were around seven hundred Comanches near the fort and approximately one thousand Caddoes, Wichitas and affiliated Indians. Alvord, through diligent effort, had been able to ascertain the locations and note the movements of the various bands throughout the entire area. Colonel Hazen was pleased that the Kiowa and Comanche bands with whom he had held council had indeed reported to the post. These bands were still camped in the Antelope Hills region. Hazen, therefore, on the first day of his arrival dispatched scouts to notify them of his presence and to tell them to proceed to the fort. He feared that Sheridan's forces might encounter and attack the bands since he knew that the general was under the impression that they had broken faith. He also sent reports to Sheridan informing him of the status of those bands.[37] One day spent examining the situation at Fort Cobb was sufficient to impress upon Hazen the magnitude of the task which lay before him. Thousands of Indians surrounded the fort looking to him for subsistence and direction. No Indian Bureau agents were present to lend him assistance. Instead of having only Kiowas and Comanches as his charges, as he originally anticipated, he had bands of many other tribes on his hands. This heavy responsibility prompted him to inform General Sherman on November 7 that his duties would now "preclude . . . taking an active command, as before requested."[38]

News of Hazen's arrival spread rapidly to the various encampments along the Washita and Canadian rivers. Delegations from many different bands came in to see what arrangements were to be made for them. However, the Kiowas and the Yamparika Comanches, camped on the upper Washita and on the Canadian near the 100th meridian, were more hesitant. They had been warned by a trusted interpreter, John Smith, not to fall into the trap set for them at Fort Cobb.[39] The scouts sent out to warn the Kiowas and Ten Bear's band of Comanches had not reported back by November 10. This caused Hazen to again officially express concern that Sheridan might attack these bands before he could collect them.[40] A report a few days later indicated that a major portion of the Kiowas were moving down the

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[35] Alvord to Roy, November 5, 1868, *ibid.*

[36] Charles J. Brill, *Conquest of the Southern Plains* (Oklahoma City, 1938), p. 131; Hazen to Sherman, November 7, 1868, *S-S Papers.*

[37] *Ibid.*, Hazen to Sherman, June 30, 1869, in *Report, 1869,* p. 388.

[38] Hazen to Sherman, November 7, 1868, *S-S Papers.*

[39] Hazen to Sherman, November 10, 1868, *ibid.*

[40] *Ibid.*

Washita.[41] By November 20, the principal chiefs, including Lone Wolf, Satanta, and Satank, had come to confer with Hazen. Acting under Sherman's instructions of October 13 to "make provision for all the Indians who come to keep out of war," Hazen issued rations to the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches with the understanding that they were to camp peacefully near the agency.[42]

Hazen considered the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes beyond his sphere of authority since they had officially been declared hostile by Sherman and Sheridan.[43] Thus when Black Kettle and Big Mouth, representing several Cheyenne and Arapaho bands, sued for peace on November 20, Hazen turned them away. This despite the fact that they had come in on their own accord and seemed sincerely desirous of settling down near the agency. The officer reasoned that he could not shelter Indians against whom war was then being waged. He told Black Kettle that only Sheridan could make peace with him because he represented a portion of the tribe that had started the war in Kansas. Black Kettle was urged to return to his camps on the upper Washita, to contact Sheridan and express his desire for peace. If peace were made from that quarter then Hazen said he would be happy to provide for his band at Fort Cobb; but they were not to come in unless they heard from him.[44] Disappointed in their quest for protection and supplies, Black Kettle and Big Mouth prepared to return to their people. Before leaving, however, they secured some food and other goods from a trader at the fort named "Dutch" Bill Griffenstein.[45] As the Cheyenne and Arapaho delegation departed the agency, some of the young warriors were heard to express pleasure that the peace talks had failed. They boasted that they would now be able to continue their raids, and that in the following spring they planned to join other bands to "clear out this entire country."[46]

Hazen's conference with Black Kettle and Big Mouth was fully discussed in his lengthy November 22nd report. Hazen explained that he feared that if he made peace with the chiefs Sheridan "might follow them in afterwards and a second Chivington affair might occur." Such an assumption was plausible because Sherman had written Hazen that it might be necessary for General Sheridan "to invade the reservation in pursuit of

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[41] Hazen to Sherman, November 22, 1868, *S-S Papers.*

[42] Hazen, "Some Corrections," pp. 302-303.

[43] Hazen to Sherman, November 10, 1868, *S-S Papers.*

[44] Hazen to Sherman, November 22, 1868, *ibid.*

[45] Sheridan to Brevet Major General W. A. Nichols, Assistant Adjutant General, December 24, 1868, *Sheridan Papers.*

[46] Hazen to Sherman, November 22, 1868, *S-S Papers.*

hostile Indians."[47] Hazen suggested that it might be advantageous for Sheridan to make peace with the "distinct bands" of Black Kettle and Big Mouth. Even though they apparently did not represent or control a majority of their tribes, their submission would weaken the enemy forces out in the field. Colonel Hazen believed he had dealt with the chiefs according to military policy and the general instructions given him previously. Nevertheless, he requested Sherman to give him "definite instructions in this and like cases."[48] But this "case" was closed five days later when Custer wiped out Black Kettle and many of his band.

Black Kettle's death at the Battle of Washita on November 27, 1868, led to a new wave of criticism against the military handling of the Plains Indians. Representatives of the Indian Bureau, former agent Wynkoop, and others decried a policy that led to the slaughter of a prominent chief who they claimed was earnestly striving for peace. Sherman sought to defend the army's role by proving that Black Kettle's camp was not friendly and that Custer was not another Chivington. Chivington had attacked Black Kettle when the latter was under the protection of the commanding officer at Fort Lyon. Sherman had documentation to show that in the Washita battle the chief had explicitly been refused protection until he made peace with Sheridan.[49] Hazen was quick to defend himself and his fellow army officers. In a letter to Sherman, December 31, 1868, the special agent said he wished to refute the statements "that Black Kettle's camp, destroyed by Custer, were peaceable Indians on their way to their Reservation. In his talk with me . . . before he was killed, Black Kettle stated that many of his men were then on the war path, and that their people did not want peace with the people above the Arkansas."[50] The emphasis in this letter was in contrast to Hazen's earlier report in which he professed belief that Black Kettle was sincere for "peace," and even suggested that Sheridan make peace with his "distinct" band.

The procurement and distribution of food was one of the major duties incident to the work in the Southern Indian District. The $50,000 allotted for Indian services in the area was not originally intended for Indian subsistence. The failure of Congress to appropriate sufficient funds for that purpose forced Hazen to spend most of his money on food. Furthermore, he had been informed that regular agency personnel would be available to assist him in caring for the Indians.[51] But Jesse Henry

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47 Sherman to Hazen, October 13, 1868, in Hazen, "Some Corrections," p. 303.

48 Hazen to Sherman, November 22, 1868, *S-S Papers.*

49 Berthrong, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-232.

50 Hazen to Sherman, December 31, 1868, *Sheridan Papers.*

51 Hazen to Sherman, June 30, 1869, in *Report, 1869,* p. 389.

Leavenworth, Kiowa-Comanche agent, and his temporary successor, S. T. Walkley, had left Fort Cobb prior to Hazen's arrival. Henry Shanklin never returned from his sudden "leave of absence"; instead, on January 9, 1869, he resigned as agent of the Wichita and affiliated tribes because of a "severe affliction of rheumatism contracted in Indian Territory."[52] The only agent ever to show up at Fort Cobb during Colonel Hazen's eight-month tenure was A. G. Boone, the newly appointed Kiowa-Comanche agent, who arrived in December, 1868. Despite repeated requests for more funds Hazen was unable to get any additional aid from either Congress, the Indian Bureau, or the army.[53]

Hazen estimated that he would need to provide rations for approximately eight thousand Indians at a total cost, for a six month period, of $115,220. In addition his itemized budget called for the hiring of two clerks, one storekeeper, one interpreter, four scouts, one butcher, one teamster, roofing an old store-house, and other miscellaneous expenses. His total budget, as submitted on November 10, amounted to $127,700.[54]

Through a process of trial and experimentation a standard fixed ration system was gradually instituted. Arrangements were made to secure beef in the area at three cents per pound net. This was about one-half the price agents Leavenworth and Walkley had paid for beef.[55] The ration system was based on the following formula for each 100 rations: 150 pounds of beef, seventy-five pounds of corn meal, twenty-five pounds of flour, four pounds of sugar, two pounds of coffee, one pound of soap, and one pound of salt. In mid-winter the beef allowance was increased to 250 pounds per 100 rations. Rations were issued on a weekly or ten day basis. They were distributed to the chiefs of each band according to the actual number of their followers present at the place of disbursement. Previously, by exaggerating their numbers, the chiefs had been able to secure much more liberal food allowances. The practice of issuing rations based on actual count did not set well with the chiefs. Hazen reported that they were "always disappointed, usually angry, and always giving

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[52] *Ibid.*, 394; Henry Shanklin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 9, 1869, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81 MSS, Central Superintendancy, Wichita Agency, National Archives, Washington, D.C., Microcopy 234, Roll No. 929.

[53] Hazen to Sherman, June 30, 1869, in *Report, 1869,* p. 395.

[54] Hazen to Sherman, November 10, 1868, *S-S Papers.*

[55] *Ibid.* An investigation later revealed that Walkley had participated in a scheme whereby he encouraged the Caddoes to steal Texas cattle which he then purchased for five cents per head. The agent then sold the cattle for nine cents a pound to be used for Indian rations. A. G. Boone to N. G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, January 26, 1869, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81 MSS, Central Superintendancy, Kiowa Agency, National Archives, Washington, D.C., Microcopy 234, Roll 376.

annoyance, which had to be endured at the risk of revolt."[56] Through careful checking and observation Hazen concluded that the population of Indians at the time of his arrival had been rated "at fully double their real numbers."[57] Sugar and coffee, according to official instructions, were to be issued only occasionally and sparingly. But because of pressure and agitation previous agents had diverted much of the ration money into those two commodities. Hazen found it "almost impossible to correct the abuse." He ultimately capitulated and agreed that they should form a part of the regular allowance.[58]

A food distribution program was fraught with many perils. The red men, used to an ample supply of buffalo meat, complained bitterly about the scanty portions of beef they received and they universally detested corn meal. The dissatisfaction over the food situation became so intense that Hazen, on November 26, requested that additional troops be sent from Fort Arbuckle. He also asked that two howitzers with 100 rounds of ammunition be provided for him. This call for reinforcements was prompted by the surly attitude of a group of Kiowas and Apaches who, upon receiving their rations, grumbled menacingly because "they could not have everything there is at the Post."[59] Satanta was one of those complaining. He and the other agitators moved among the various camps threatening serious trouble before going on to their own lodges, thirty miles up the Washita.[60] Fortunately for Hazen, the garrison was temporarily strengthened and also the approach of Sheridan's forces helped pacify the Indians. Otherwise, Hazen said he would not have remained at Fort Cobb.[61] By June 30, 1869, Hazen had spent $41,250 for food out of his funds. In addition he had purchased, apparently on his own authority, $56,106.86 worth of commodities for the government on credit. The Secretary of Interior agreed in May, 1869, to honor the bill.[62]

The extensive military operations in western Indian Territory through the winter of 1868-1869 kept the Indians near Fort Cobb in a constant state of restlessness and anxiety. When reports of the Battle of Washita were first received, it was feared that the Cheyennes and Arapahoes might attack the fort in

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56 Hazen to Sherman, June 30, 1869, *Report, 1869,* p. 389.

57 *Ibid.,* 389-390. Hazen's own estimate, which he admitted was subject to error, placed the number of Indians in the area on June 30, 1869, at about 7,000. This figure included the following tribes, both on and off the reservation: Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, Caddo, Wichita and affiliated bands, Arapaho, and Cheyenne. *Ibid,* pp. 393-394.

58 Hazen to Sherman, November 22, 1868, *S-S Papers.*

59 Hazen to Roy, November 26, 1868, *ibid.*

60 *Ibid.*

61 Hazen to Sherman, June 30, 1868, in *Report, 1869,* p. 390.

62 *Ibid.,* p. 395.

retaliation. On December 16 came news that Sheridan, with the Seventh Cavalry under Custer, and the Nineteenth Kansas Volunteer regiment, were moving down the Washita. Hazen was immediately concerned about the safety of the Kiowa and Comanche camps situated along the valley of the river. Already on December 14 Hazen had taken the precaution to write to Sherman: "General Sheridan should understand that my camps extend up and down the Washita for about thirty miles, and some miles south.[63] Fearing that Sheridan might attack the camps resting under his promise of security, Hazen promptly dispatched two runners with the following note:[64]

HEADQUARTERS SOUTHERN INDIAN DISTRICT
FORT COBB, 9 P.M., DEC. 16, 1868

To the Officer commanding troops in the field:

Indians have just brought in word that our troops today reached the Washita some twenty miles above here. I send this to say that all the camps this side of the point reported to have been reached, are friendly, and have not been on the warpath this season. If this reaches you, it would be well to communicate at once with Satanta or Black Eagle, chiefs of the Kiowas, near where you now are, who will readily inform you of the position of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, also of my camp.

Respectfully,
(Signed) "W. B. Hazen,
"Bvt. Major General"

A group of Kiowas intercepted the messengers and kept one as a hostage. The second was escorted onward until contact was made with Sheridan and Custer on December 17, near the present site of Cloud Chief.[65] The officers were obviously provoked by the letter from the "Peace Commissioners' agent." An all-out attack on a Kiowa village was to have commenced momentarily. Custer claimed the Kiowas had been vitally involved in the Battle of the Washita and therefore did not deserve protection. In his reports and later accounts he frankly charged Hazen had been "completely deceived" and "misled" by the Indians, and had seriously erred in preventing the attack on the 17th.[66] Sheridan regretted to pass up a chance to "hit the Kiowas" but did not feel he could ignore Hazen's letter.[67] He believed that labeling the Kiowas friendly was a "joke," and subsequently said that if

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63 Hazen to Sherman, December 14, 1868, *S-S Papers.*

64 *Sheridan Papers.*

65 George H. Shirk, "Campaigning With Sheridan: A Farrier's Diary, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXVII (Spring, 1959), p. 90.

66 Report of Operations of the Command of Brevet Major General George A. Custer, from December 7 to December 22, 1868, *Sheridan Papers;* George A. Custer, *Wild Life on the Plains* (St. Louis, 1911), 256 ff; Hazen, "Some Corrections," p. 298.

67 Sheridan to Sherman, December 19, 1868, quoted in Manypenny, *Our Indian Wards,* p. 235; P. H. Sheridan, *Personal Memoirs of P. H. Sheridan,* II (New York, 1888), p. 334.

Hazen had not interfered "the Indian problem on the Texas frontier" would have been solved at that time.[68] Hazen was convinced that the Kiowas and Comanches, as a group, did not participate in the Battle of Washita and had not been on the warpath since his agreement with them at Fort Larned. In this view he was supported by Alvord, who had remained at Fort Cobb under special assignment to supply Sherman with data on Indian movements, and interpreters H. P. Jones and Philip McCusker.[69]

Hazen admitted that undoubtedly some individual Indians from those bands had been with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes from time to time. He was likewise cognizant that some individuals had gone on raids into Texas. But it had been consistently established and reported by the officers at Fort Cobb that the bands with whom agreements had been made in Kansas had not engaged in any hostilities since. Hazen was only fulfilling a trust and his assigned duty when he sought to assure the safety of the bands under his charge. Sherman himself virtually dictated the course of procedure Hazen followed on December 16 when he sent him the following instructions: "Every appearance about Fort Cobb should be suggestive of an earnest desire to afford a place of refuge where the peaceable Indians may receive food and be safe against the troops . . . If you have not already notified General Sheridan of the fact that some of the Kiowas are peaceful, get word to him in some way, lest he pursue them and stampede your whole family."[70]

After reluctantly agreeing to honor Hazen's leter, Custer seized Satanta and Lone Wolf to be held as hostages until all the Kiowas would report to Fort Cobb. Many of the camps, thoroughly suspicious of the huge army before them, fled helter skelter like a herd of scared buffalo. Many came in to Cobb promptly; others did not arrive until weeks later.[71] Sheridan's army arrived at the post on December 18. Negotiations were undertaken with the Cheyenne and Arapaho chiefs on the basis of unconditional surrender. After considerable coaxing, threats, and troop movements, an increasing number of these Indians began to find their way in to the place of surrender. This "gathering" process extended well into the month of April, 1869. The Cheyennes and Arapahoes were then moved north to their own reservation.[72]

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68 *Ibid;* Hazen, "Some Corrections," p. 297.

69 *Ibid.,* pp. 316-318.

70 Quoted in W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance* (Norman, 1943), p. 72.

71 Sheridan to Nichols, December 24, 1868, *Sheridan Papers;* Hazen, "Some Corrections," p. 310.

72 Berthrong, *op. cit.,* pp. 338-339; See also William H. Leckie, *The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains* (Norman, 1963), pp. 114-126.

Sheridan had been at Fort Cobb only about a week when he decided to abandon the site for a more favorable location. A reconnaissance party composed of Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson, Hazen, and Major George A. Forsyth left that post on December 27 to investigate other possible sites.[73] The group found what they considered an ideal location near the junction of Medicine Bluff and Cache creeks, approximately thirty-six miles south of the fort. Here was plenty of water, grass, and building material. Grierson and Hazen both considered the place had definite advantages over Fort Cobb. Sheridan accepted their recommendation and by January 10 all the troops had been transferred to the new post, first called Camp Wichita but later named Fort Sill.[74] Sheridan strongly advised Hazen to move his Indians to Camp Wichita also; therefore as soon as the troops were established in their new camp, this was done.[75] At the new post the Indian goods were placed in a huge tent, strategically located for safe-keeping near General Sheridan's closely guarded headquarters. Some of the Kiowas and Comanches camped along Cache and Chandler creeks while others located near Mount Scott. Hazen built an adobe house on the east bank of Cache Creek which served as his winter residence. In the spring he moved into a large tent. Contracts were let for the construction of two agency warehouses and by the spring of 1869 they were ready for use.[76] The only other buildings constructed under the supervision of Hazen were two houses for Indian chiefs.[77]

After the arrival of Sheridan, Hazen devoted more time to the long-range goal of adjusting the Indian to a sedentary life. Since most of his $50,000 was necessarily diverted for food purchases the scope of all other activities was severely limited. Nevertheless, considerable efforts were made to introduce farming among the Indians. Agricultural implements, seeds, and other farming supplies were ordered from Leavenworth, Kansas, in mid-December, through the Indian Bureau. These were to be delivered on or before February 1 in time for spring planting. A. G. Boone was delegated to hire competent farmers to assist on the agencies as provided in the Treaty of Medicine Lodge.[78]

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[73] De. Benneville R. Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers on the Borders: A Winter Campaign on the Plains* (Philadelphia, 1885), 231; Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 84, 86; Sheridan to Sherman, January 8, 1869, *Sheridan Papers;* Sheridan, *Memoirs*, II, p. 339; Keim, *Sheridan's Troopers On the Borders,* pp. 255-256.

[75] Sheridan to Sherman, January 8, 1869, *Sheridan Papers.*

[76] Nye, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 102.

[77] Hazen to Sherman, June 30, 1869, in *Report, 1869,* p. 392.

[78] A. G. Boone to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 13, 1868, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81 MSS, Central Superintendancy, Kiowa Agency, National Archives, Washington D.C., Microcopy 234, Roll No. 375.

During the spring months, 1,200 acres of prairie sod were plowed, many fields were fenced, 300 acres of corn were planted, and numerous gardens were started by the Indians with the help of the agency farmers. Fortunately for the success of the work, a wet spring was experienced and crops produced well. Some of the Indians raised enough corn, watermelons, and vegetables to be able to market a surplus at the trading post. Hazen boasted that the garden plots were "as cleanly kept as the best gardens in Ohio."[79] Amazingly enough, even some of the Comanche chiefs were stimulated to help hoe the corn and vegetables. Generally, however, it was left to the squaws to do the hard labor. As a result, only seventy-two acres were put in cultivation by the Comanches in 1869.

It was difficult to make farmers out of the Kiowas. The few fields of corn started for them were used to pasture their ponies as soon as a good stand was evident.[80] The Wichita and affiliated tribes, traditionally agriculturists, were also provided assistance to reestablish farming activities. The Wichitas were a peaceful and docile people who had been forced out of the Washita Valley during the Civil War. When they returned after the war they found their homes and farms destroyed and their lands assigned to other tribes by the Medicine Lodge treaties. Hazen found them occupying both sides of the Washita near Fort Cobb in a very "destitute condition" and decided to include them in the food distribution program.[81] He was impressed with the desire of these neglected people for their own plots of ground, as well as with their cooperative spirit. On January 20 he appointed Philip McCusker as acting agent of the Wichita and affiliated tribes. McCusker was instructed to take necessary measures to assure farm plots for all the Indians of the Wichita tribe.[82]

Ground was broken for these Indians in the Eureka Valley bottom lands immediately to the east of Fort Cobb. Farmers were employed to instruct and assist them in the planting of corn, beans, peas, melons, and other vegetables. Hazen's efforts in their behalf were greatly appreciated by tribal members. One chief extolled him as "a good man who aided us all he could."[83] On the whole, Hazen felt well-pleased with the progress made in

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79 Hazen to Sherman, June 30, 1869 in *Report, 1869,* pp. 382, 383.

80 *Ibid.,* pp. 384-385.

81 Hazen to Sherman, November 7, 1868, *S-S Papers.*

82 Hazen to Interpreter Philip McCusker, January 20, 1869, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81 MSS, Central Superintendancy, Wichita Agency, National Archives, Washington D.C., Microcopy 234, Roll No. 929; Wichita files-farmers, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

83 International Council File, May, 1875, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

the realm of farming during the Spring of 1869. It would be left to others to struggle to build on the foundation he had laid.

Continuing Indian raids were the most frustrating problem faced by Hazen as special agent. He had absolutely no sympathy for any participants in such excursions and consistently advocated that strict measures be employed to deal with the problem. Immediately upon his arrival on the reservation Hazen stated that the "old and pernicious habit of marauding in Texas" should be "checked at whatever cost." This, he advised, could not be accomplished by the Indian agent who was powerless to do more than cajole and issue hollow warnings; nor could it be done with the two companies of troops he had on hand. The problem would only be solved, he asserted, by the government dictating its own terms and then backing them up with the presence of a sufficiently strong military force. "Old gray headed men here laugh," Hazen said, "when told the Government will punish, and say they have been told that since they were children."[84]

Although unable to effectively cope with the Texas raiders because of his small force, Hazen kept careful record of all individuals and parties participating in such raids. He also attempted to recover stolen property and locate white captives among the tribes. When Sheridan arrived with his army in December he was presented with the evidence gathered against various members of the Kiowa and Comanche bands. Hazen's information on their depredations, including accounts of various killings and robberies, was documentated with reports prepared by McCusker, Alvord, Walkley, and several Texans. Hazen believed that the guilty individuals had forfeited every right under their treaties, as well as of humanity, and recommended to Sheridan that they be dealt with accordingly. He stated his views bluntly: "To hang all the principal participants in this outlawry, and to disarm and dismount the rest, with an ample force stationed among them is, in my opinion, the mildest remedy that promises a certain cure."[85] Sheridan took no specific action on the first part of this recommendation but promised sufficient troops to discourage or punish any such violations in the future.

The following spring, shortly after Sheridan had withdrawn from the area, small parties began once again to get the "roaming fever." They crossed the Red River and struck over a wide area of Texas. Colonel Grierson, commander at Fort Sill, attributed the renewed raiding activity to the scarcity and poor quality of the food supply. He agreed with the Indians who complained

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[84] Hazen to Sherman, November 10, 1868, *S-S Papers.*

[85] Hazen to Sheridan, December 24, 1868. An enclosure in Sheridan to Nichols, December 27, 1868, *Sheridan Papers.*

that Hazen's ration was insufficient, even when issued in full. The red men, he found, were usually without "a mouthful of food" for two or three days prior to each distribution. The quality of beef at the agency, in comparison to buffalo or young Texas steers, likewise left something to be desired. Grierson questioned the wisdom of buying low standard beef just in order to save a few cents a day on an Indian. Such a policy, he complained, tended to drive them off the reservation and the savings made were far exceeded by the financial expense required to get them back.[86]

When the raids first commenced in the spring, Hazen warned the Indians that troops would be used to hound down the outlaws and to mete out severe punishment. But when he later requested the deployment of troops, Grierson refused to take any significant action. Thus his own strong threats of action against the guilty Indians could not be backed up. The old gray haired men could laugh some more.[87]

In his final report from Indian Territory, Hazen was highly critical of the military command for not supporting him in his efforts to stymie the raiding activity. The lack of ability or desire to chasten, he contended, would be the downfall of the reservation system. Without it, he predicted, the Indian would continue to come and go as he pleased and progress would be slow and uncertain.[88]

Hazen's services as special agent were concluded on June 30, 1869. By that time Quaker agents were on hand to continue the work he had begun. Although he wished to see the army take over the Indian affairs he felt confident that Lawrie Tatum and his assistants would administer the agency with efficiency and success, if given proper support. The Quakers, "with their industry, practical ability and known probity," would be a definite improvement over the previous system, which he considered a "burlesque upon the government and a swindle upon the Indian."[89]

W. B. Hazen demonstrated earnest application and marked efficiency in performing the varied and arduous duties associated with the placement of the Southern Plains Indians on reservations. A military agent without military authority, and with duties only vaguely defined, he had been forced to rely upon his own ingenuity and resourcefulness. By providing for the needs of thousands of Indians during a difficult transitional

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86 B. H. Grierson to the Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri, April 7, 1869, *Sheridan Papers.*

87 Hazen to Sherman, June 30, 1869, *Report, 1869,* p. 393.

88 *Ibid.*

89 *Ibid.,* p. 394.

period, he helped them accept the inevitable and adjust to their new and restricted way of life. In a period of less than a year, only a small start could be made. Much still remained to be done and many of the high hopes held out for the reservation system were never realized. Nevertheless, the way had been prepared for others to seek in an effective way to lead the reluctant Indian along the white man's road. Given just treatment, careful guidance, and a "wholesome example of Christian morality," the Plains Indian, Hazen believed, could successfully be absorbed into the life of the nation.[90] These three principles formed the basis of Hazen's work during his brief but significant tenure in southwestern Indian Territory.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 396.

MALMAISON TODAY

By George H. Shirk

Greenwood, Mississippi, holds a place of special importance in the history of Oklahoma. There was located the magnificent and renowned home of Chief Greenwood LeFlore of the Choctaws. Although he himself did not migrate to Oklahoma, his name and tradition loom high in this State.

Greenwood LeFlore was born in the year 1800 at LeFleur's Bluff, then a settlement of importance located near present Jackson, Mississippi. His parents were Louis LeFlore, of French Canadian extraction who had risen to a position of eminence within the community, and Rebecca Cravat, the daughter of a prominent Choctaw-French family. They named their child Greenwood after a sea captain and long-time friend of Louis LeFlore.

When young Greenwood was at the age of twelve, Major Donley, the contractor for the mail route along the Natchez Trace, took an interest in his progress and persuaded his parents to allow Donley to take the boy to Nashville for his education. He completed his formal education at the age of nineteen, and was soon taking an active part in Choctaw tribal affairs. He was selected Chief of the Northwest District in 1826.[1] On March 16, 1830, he was elected to the newly created post of Chief of the entire[2] Nation.

Greenwood LeFlore was married three times. His first wife was Rosa Donley, the daughter of his childhood benefactor. His second wife was Elizabeth Coody, daughter of the noted Cherokee, William Shorey Coody.[3] Priscilla Donley, a sister of Rosa, was the third wife.

In 1835, LeFlore built a frame dwelling on land grants he had secured near Williams Landing, a settlement on the Yazoo River in Mississippi. The settlement, named for John Williams, had come into early prominence following the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek (1830) as a shipping point for the expanding cotton industry.

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1 Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers* (Norman, 1936), p. 263.

2 Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), p. 23.

3 Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921), p. 410, (genealogical section of the Ross Family). Elizabeth Coody (or Coodey) was the niece of Chief John Ross of the Cherokee Nation. —Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Coodey Family of the Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXV, No. 4 Winter, 1947-48), pp. 323-341).

(Photo, Oklahoma Historical Society Museum)

Choctaw Chief, Greenwood LeFlore's Mansion, "Malmaison"
erected (1854) in Carroll County, Mississippi

Due to a disagreement with some of the shippers at Williams Landing resulting in the damage of some of his cotton through exposure to the weather, Greenwood LeFlore decided to establish his own landing facilities three miles up the Yazoo River from Williams Landing. There he established Point LeFlore, and constructed a cinder roadway from his rapidly growing estates to the landing docks. Ambitious for the success of Point LeFlore, the Chief established at this place, a church, school, hotel, a brickyard and saw mill. He placed the entire enterprise under the supervision of Ely Waites, his brother-in-law.

Point LeFlore, probably due to disastrous overflows of the Yazoo, was not to survive; and now all that remains to tell of its past importance is a historical marker. In an irony of fate, Williams Landing continued to grow and eventually absorbed the remaining activity of Point LeFlore. As though to recompense, however, the expanding Williams Landing, upon incorporation, adopted the name of Greenwood.

The mansion was built in 1854 in accordance with plans prepared for Chief LeFlore by James E. Harris, an Eastern architect whose work had caught the fancy of the Indian leader. Harris later became a son-in-law of Chief LeFlore. LeFlore had always been an admirer of the Bonaparte family, and so he selected the name of one of Josephine Bonaparte's homes, "Malmaison," as the name for his own home.[4]

Upon inquiry at Greenwood in 1962, the County Seat of LeFlore County, Mississippi, it was learned that the site of Malmaison is in fact in Carroll County, the adjoining county to the east, and that the road from Greenwood to Malmaison is now somewhat circuitous. Instructions received from the LeFlore County Sheriff, George Smith, proved adequate. Driving north from Greenwood on State Highway No. 7 for approximately 3½ miles a large fill and bridge over Big Sand Creek is reached; a few hundred feet farther north is an unimproved road to the right. On this road after several miles, tall TV or radio towers are passed; and after the third tower is reached, approximately 6½ miles from the turnoff from State Highway 7, an even less improved road is found making a sharp, almost hairpin, turn to the right. This was at one time the entrance road to Mal-

[4] Mrs. Lee J. Langley, "Malmaison, Palace in a Wilderness, Home of General Greenwood LeFlore," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. V, No. 4 (December, 1927), pp. 381-90. (It is worthy of note in this Centennial Commemoration period of the Civil War that Chief Greenwood LeFlore though a prominent citizen of Mississippi of the "Deep South" remained loyal to the Union throughout the War. During his last illness, it is said that he asked his grandchildren to hold the United States flag over him that he might die under the folds of the Stars and Stripes. —*Ibid.*, p. 380.)

maison. After a drive of a mile or so, two large brick columns may be seen. These were the original entrance columns to the grounds and served as the main gate to Malmaison and its spacious lawn until the destruction of the home.

Malmaison was destroyed by fire on the evening of March 31, 1942. At that time, the premises yet remained in the LeFlore family and Malmaison was then occupied by Mrs. F. R. Montgomery and Miss Florency Ray, both granddaughters of Greenwood LeFlore. A defective flue was believed responsible and within hours the structure was a total loss. Today the surrounding brush and undergrowth have again reclaimed everything and only a few piles of brick and rubble remain.

The property is now owned by Claude Shook of Charleston, Mississippi. Malmaison was located on a commanding site on the north side of Big Sand Creek with at least a half mile of fertile bottom land stretching for some distance between the home and the stream. The premises are now occupied by Booker Green (Route 2, Box 100, Carrollton, Mississippi), who lives in a nearby cottage. He is extremely proud of his two daughters now serving in the Peace Corps; and so shares his visitors' time while telling of the past history of the place with the accomplishments of his daughters.

The old LeFlore house was a fine example of modified colonial architecture. The main part of the building formed a square, with halls running both north-south and east-west making a maltese cross. The north-south hall measured 50 x 20 feet while the cross hall was 65 x 14 feet in size. Each had double doors 10 feet in height, 6 feet wide, and over 2 inches thick, and opened onto four separate porticos. On the northwest side of the central house was an ell extension, containing a dining room 60 feet in length. The second floor plan was the same as the floor below, opening on four balconies surrounded by wrought iron balustrades. The ceilings of the balconies were finished with the same plastering as the interior.

There were 15 rooms in the house. Eleven of them contained mantles of black Italian marble. The inside doors from each room measured 10 feet in height.

For entertaining, the main dining room on the first floor was also used for dancing, while refreshments were served in other rooms. The kitchen was outside, in the style of the time, connected with the house by a narrow covered gallery 50 feet in length. Separate buildings included two carriage houses and a smoke house. The servants quarters were some distance to the north, with the stable still farther away.

The furniture was of gold leaf covering French hickory. The style was of the Louis XIV period, with upholstery of

View of Dining Room in Chief Greenwood LeFlore's Mansion.

View of Living Room in Chief Greenwood LeFlore's Mansion.

crimson silk brocade damask. The window cornices were of gold leaf corresponding with the style of the furniture, with draperies all of heavy silk damask in the same design as the upholstery. Over the marble mantle in the parlor was a large mirror measuring over 6 x 5 feet, with a clock and candelabra of brass and ebony. The clock depicted a crusader on horseback with spear uplifted to attack. The candelabra depicted soldiers supporting clusters of fleur-de-lis, with each holding nine candles.

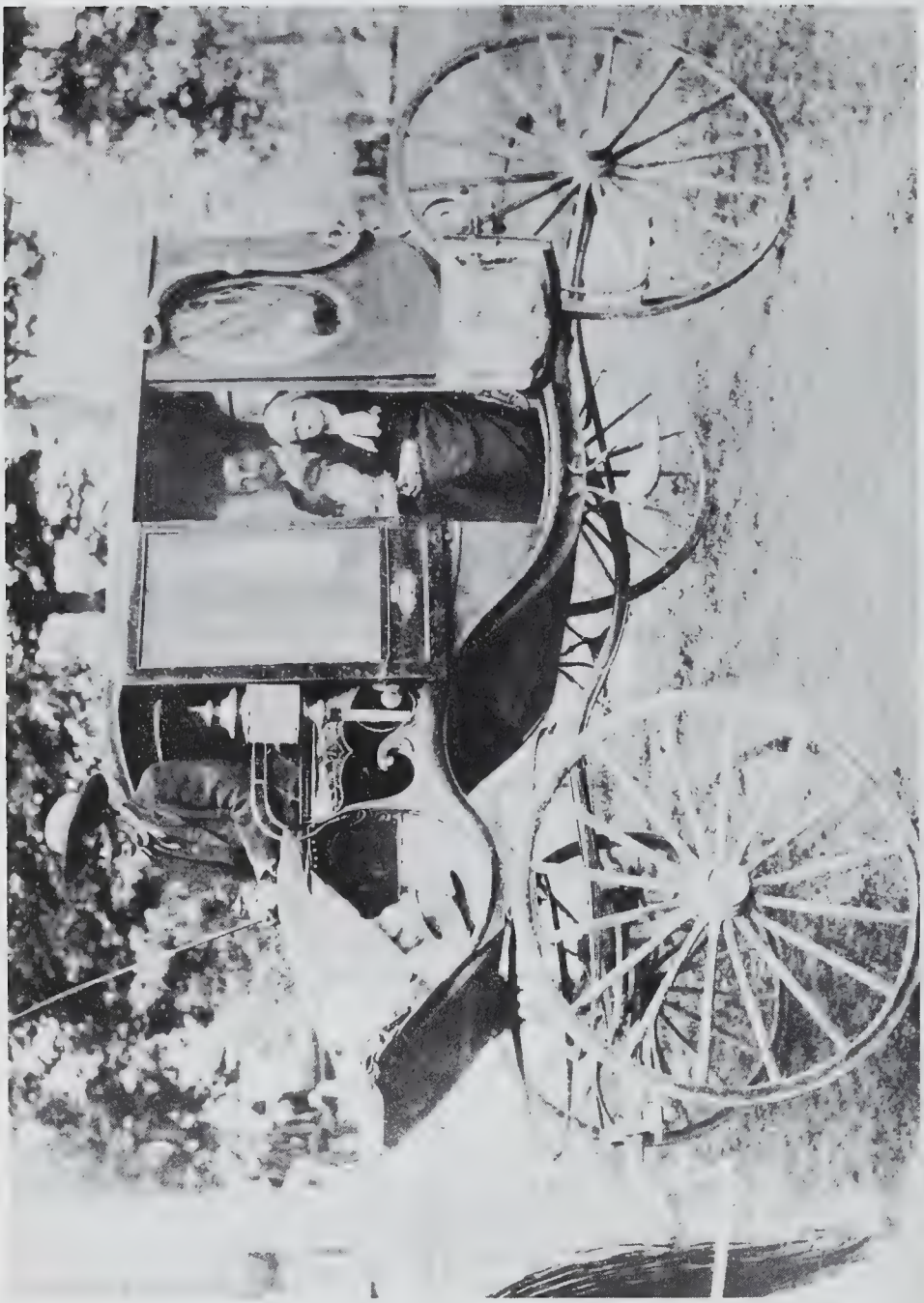
After the fire, the home was described in the *Greenville Press*:

> Most of the furnishings were brought from France. The silver, glass and china, imperial in its significance, came in sets of twelve dozen pieces. The furniture was made by special order. An example was the marvelous drawing room set of 30 pieces of solid mahogany, finished in genuine gold and upholstered in priceless silk damask. It is said that the Duchess of Orleans tried to purchase the set before it was shipped to America and failing, ordered a duplicate for herself. Then there were beautiful mirrors, tables, large four poster beds of rosewood with silk and satin canopies and four tapestry curtains depicting the four places of Napoleon and Josephine—Versailles, Malmaison, St. Cloud, and Fontainebleu. The furnishings were planned for the entertainment of 200 guests at a time.

Nearby the site of Malmaison is the family burial plot. Now overgrown and difficult to locate, the headstone of one of the great Chiefs of the Choctaws, obscure now among the undergrowth, in its way tells of greater days for his tribe and finer days for the spot. The headstone reads:

Greenwood LeFlore
Born June 3rd, 1800
Died August 21st, 1865
The last Chief of the Choctaws
East of the Mississippi

Time has obliterated even the site of Malmaison, but the tradition of this beautiful old residence lives securely in the history of the Choctaw Nation of Indians.



Chief Greenwood LeFlore's Family Coach with some of his descendants seated inside. (Photo, Oklahoma Historical Society Museum)

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Index to The Chronicles, 1963

The Index to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XLI, 1963, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is now ready for free distribution to those who receive the quarterly magazine. Orders for this annual Index should be sent to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

Each issue of the quarterly magazine, *The Chronicles,* carries a full page publication notice of the *Cumulative Index* that was off the press as a special volume published by the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1961. The *Cumulative Index* is a beautifully bound book of 569 pages covering more than 125,000 references to all numbers of *The Chronicles* from 1921 to 1959 inclusive, Volumes I to XXXVII. The annual Index published in pamphlet form has been continued regularly each year since 1959. The *Cumulative Index* can be ordered by check for $15.00 made out to the Oklahoma Historical Society and mailed with the order to: Index Dept., Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.

Fort Washita Restoration Progress Report for 1963 From The Fort Washita Commission

Members of the Fort Washita Commission of the Oklahoma Historical Society are Henry B. Bass of Enid, Elmer L. Fraker of Oklahoma City, C. M. Milner of Ardmore, Fisher Muldrow of Norman, Harold Weichbrodt of Ardmore and James D. Morrison of Durant, who is Chairman of the Commission. A special fund donated as a gift to the Historical Society has made possible the purchase of the land tract where the ruins of Old Fort Washita are seen located in northwestern Bryan County about 14 miles northwest of Durant, on the east side of Lake Texoma beside State Highway 199. A history of Fort Washita is now in preparation in the Editorial Department for *The Chronicles,* which tells of the establishment of the post at this site in 1842, by General Zachary Taylor on the western frontier of the Indian Territory. A survey of the site plan was made under the auspices of the Historical Society in 1960, preliminary to purchase of the tract for preservation and partial restoration of the ruins of the old fort. The Fort Washita Commission made the following report to the Society's Board of Directors through the Chairman, dated, from Durant, Oklahoma, on January 23, 1964:

Fort Washita Progress Report
Work completed during 1963

References: (a) *1963 Program Fort Washita Restoration,* 18 February, 1963.
(b) *Site Plan of Fort Washita,* July, 1960.

1. *Site Clearance and Cleanup.*
   a. Stable area cleared, including Site No. 8 (Blacksmith Shop), the entire foundation being dug out to show extent of compound. Question: Should large trees left within stable area also be removed?
   b. Area west of barracks cleared to abandoned right of way, Pure Oil Pipe line, including Sites 23, 24, 28, 29.
   c. Aunt Jane grave area cleared. Approximately 100 unsuspected grave sites uncovered and marked with chat. Trees whitewashed.
   d. Area around post cemetery cleared, as well as picnic area nearby. The cemetery itself was cleared and sites of graves, marked and unmarked, were mounded and covered with chat. Trees were whitewashed and General Belknap's tombstone replaced in its approximate location. The foundation of a 60' by 90' brick building was uncovered adjoining the southwest edge of the cemetery. Positive identification of its use has not been made.
   e. Headway made on trash and rubbish disposal over the whole site, but much remains to be done. In fact, National Park Service experts advise us to go slow on "trash and rubbish" disposal, even items such as bricks.

2. *Walks and Walkways.*
   a. An attempt was made to clear the cobble stone roadway but abandoned as impractical. Parts left exposed were marked and its approximate location can be shown on future maps and/or projections for information of the public.
   b. (1) Walkway cleared from parade ground to Aunt Jane grave area. With tacit approval of Army engineers, this path was extended to site of Hatsboro, or Rugglesville, by way of the so-called Government Spring, both these sites located on Government land. This path was covered with gravel and chat as far as the Government Spring, but did not pack as well as hoped because of the unusually dry weather. The Government Spring was cleared out and the stone work repaired to prevent further deterioration.
   (2) Walkway cleared to stable area. This path was extended to west fence and then north along fence to connect with first path at Aunt Jane's grave area, the whole distance covered with gravel and chat. For the completion of this path, two small bridges and one 60' bridge were constructed.
   (3) Cleared and leveled old road across canyon to northwest corner of property. This was part of route used to reach quarry on Rock Creek.

3. *Signs.*
   a. Approximately 40 redwood signs were prepared under the supervision of President Shirk. These had routed letters with legends indicating the name or nature of each structure or ruin whose name or nature could be reasonably determined.
   b. Thirteen informational signs, made in the same manner, were also installed to direct visitors to areas not immediately adjacent to the parade ground or to give other information.

4. *Fences.*
   a. The east, north, and west sides of the property were fenced with four (instead of three) strands of heavy barbed wire strung on creosoted posts set ten feet apart after right of way was cleared for same.
   b. The existing road through the Fort property, used for access to the area north of the Fort, was closed.
   c. The highway department located and prepared a new entrance to the grounds from Highway 199. However, the Department did not believe that a roadside park could be constructed under its regulations. An architect has agreed to prepare plans and specifications for an ornamental entrance and fence but these have not been completed for approval. Bryan County Commissioners graded and placed gravel on the new road from the highway to the parade ground.
5. *Stabilization.*
   a. (1) The west barracks (2-story ruin) was checked by an architect and competent structural engineer. Specifications were prepared under their direction and the regular work crew did an excellent job of pointing, capping, and re-inforcing these walls to prevent further deterioration. Vines were cleared but the big roots left so that they may grow back.
   (2) The one-story south barracks was pointed only on the east end, after work on the west ruins was completed, since the west ruins presented the most pressing need. We now believe we have a plan of the south ruins, showing a frame upper story. The south ruins can be restored more easily than the west ruins and work on these walls has been done only at the east end, where a double stone fireplace, a roof covered with shakes, and two windows and one door installed to check the appearance before deciding on further construction. It is interesting that a registration book placed in this room on August 26, 1963, now has names of several thousand visitors.
   b. Re-pointing work on standing chimneys only partially completed.
   c. Trees removed from Site 12.
   d. Nothing done at Site 10 (oven).
6. *Wells.*
   a. Well southwest of barracks has not been opened.
   b. Existing well cleaned out (no artifacts found). Well house built and watering stones on each side adjusted to proper position.
7. *Monuments.*
   a. The curator of the Society made a careful effort to locate the grave of Gen. Douglas H. Cooper but with no success. At least one more site needs to be explored. The Julia Jackson Chapter of the U.D.C. (Durant) has begun to raise money for a fitting monument to Cooper's memory.
   b. The Colbert Monument is in preparation by Secretary Fraker.
   c. The plaque honoring the donors has been prepared under the direction of President Shirk but has not been installed.
8. *Other completed work.*
   a. Water system completed. This includes a 345-foot deep well, 1500 feet of water lines, 9 hydrants (including Loper house), and well house with automatic heater.

b. Two rest rooms built at picnic area north of Loper house.

c. Log structure, reputed last home of General Cooper, repaired. New roof of shakes, rafters, and decking put on, logs chinked, and floors braced.

d. Three flag poles were set up on parade ground to display 1842 US flag, Confederate battle flag, and Oklahoma flag.

e. One-strand cable fence erected from new Highway entrance to north edge of parade ground in order to prevent cars from driving across parade ground and along paths leading to stables and other sites to west of main ruins.

f. Built utility and tool house.

g. Installed automatic light, in hope of discouraging vandalism, at southeast corner of parade grounds as well as outlets for lights at picnic grounds.

h. Cleared picnic area between post well and post cemetery. Installed 5 tables, with barbecue grills. An observation tower 55 feet high erected but stairs not completed. From this point a panorama may be seen which explains in part for visitors the reason for the location of the Fort at this particular spot.

9. *Recent developments.*

a. It is the desire of the donors that a much larger part of the Fort site be cleared to give a parklike view from the Highway. As a result an additional $2000 per month, for the next three or four months, has been assured for this specific work which is now in progress.

b. The Army engineers have decided to clear the area between the Fort Washita landing on the Cumberland Cut of Lake Texoma and the Fort Washita site proper. Roads, picnic and camp grounds, and other facilities are planned. This land between the Fort site and the Lake will no longer be leased for grazing.

c. The Durant Chamber of Commerce is promoting this site as one for which money be made available through "Operation Magnet," a program covering 42 eastern Oklahoma counties. This program is designed to: (1) "Identify and appraise the economic feasibility of specific tourism projects, facilities, and activities, in order to better realize the potential of tourism in the subject counties"; and (2) "Assist private and public groups in implementing the findings of the studies so that additional jobs will be created and the income of the counties augmented." A report is due in May, 1964, and the program is financed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Area Redevelopment Association.

10. *Total spent in 1963* (excluding expenditures of the Oklahoma Historical Society and Southeastern State College for maintenance and supervision).

a. For labor (2 to 7 men—March 2 - December 31) $18,526.21

b. For other services and supplies—$11,292.60.

c. Total—$30,018.81.
Bills for supplies and labor may be examined in the office of the Secretary of the Historical Society, Oklahoma City, and the office of the Chairman of the Fort Washita Commission, Durant.

11. *Future Plans.*

a. A number of items on the proposed 1963 program were accomplished, while others were not. Of particular urgency is the completion of such items as guide sheets, brochures, and in-

structions for a self-conducting tour. We also need the help of a competent archaeologist to dig in the ruins and discover what artifacts have merit and which are expendable. Some items such as old bricks, boards, and similar pieces which ordinarily would be classed as rubbish need to be appraised by a competent expert or experts.

b. A decision needs to be made concerning the restoration of the south building for use as an office, headquarters, museum, and memento shop. A competent architect must be retained to prepare plans and specifications as a first step. Perhaps a decision on this must wait, however, until the "Operation Magnet" report is forthcoming in May, 1964.

c. So far the load of financing the work has been borne by a very few. Even if the "Operation Magnet" survey does provide funds for continuation of the work, some sort of campaign should be organized on a broad base to assist in continuance of the work and in the maintenance of the Project. A number of visitors have asked where they might make donations—not to the chairman or he would have told them, but to Mr. Fricke, Mr. Loper, and others on the grounds. If we could provide, beginning with the summer of 1964, for the sale of post cards, brochures, mementos, soft drinks, and the like, it is possible that some funds could be obtained. The person in charge could also inform visitors as to where and how gifts could be made or be empowered to accept them on the spot. Perhaps our emphasis on making the site a place for family picnics can be justified as a means of arousing interest among people of all ages. At least that was the intention.

d. Your chairman has enjoyed his part in the project so far, but is willing to step aside, if need be, for the best interests of the work. All suggestions are cheerfully accepted, as we can only learn through constructive criticism.

Additional Identification in Old Photo, Front Cover of *The Chronicles* for Winter, 1963-64

Interesting notes have been received by the Editor through communication by telephone and letter from Hon. W. H. Brown, Attorney and Counselor (2601 Liberty Bank Building, Oklahoma City), identifying his uncle, Neal S. Brown shown in the old photo reproduced on the front cover of *The Chronicles* for Winter, 1963-64 (Vol. XLI, No. 4). Only one of those shown in the photo taken at Guymon in 1907 is identified in the "Cover" note appearing on the Table of Contents page. Judge Brown's uncle, Neal S. Brown is the old gentleman with the long white beard, holding the pole of the banner showing the 46th star and the words "Let the People Rule," during the campaign for statehood in 1907. Judge Brown has sent these notes about his uncle:

Neal S. Brown, shown in the picture, was reared at Fulton, Mississippi, and in the early 90's he moved to Abbott, Hill County, Texas. Then in 1901, when the Kiowa-Comanche part of Oklahoma Territory was opened to settlement, he moved to Hobart, Oklahoma, procured a school land lease adjacent to Hobart and engaged in the real estate business and was a Justice of the Peace.

The writer of these notes, W. H. Brown, after he graduated from college in Virginia, went to Hobart, Oklahoma, and lived at this uncle's home from September 25, 1902, until August, 1903, after the big fire in Hobart on July 27 of that year. Then W. H. Brown returned to Fulton, Mississippi, where he remained until October 1, 1906, when he came to Stigler, Indian Territory. He remained at Stigler until he moved to Muskogee in 1921, and then to Oklahoma City in 1929.

Some time after 1903, Neal S. Brown acquired a tract of land in the vicinity of Goodwell, Oklahoma, where he resided when the Constitution was adopted and Oklahoma was admitted into the Union as the 46th state. He was always active in politics as it related to good causes and to good clean government. His activity in politics was always for others. He held some very minor position in the Constitutional Convention and it may be that he held a similar position in the first legislature of the State. The Constitutional Convention appointed him as County Clerk of Texas County, as was done in other counties, in furtherance of and as a part of the election machinery for the adoption of the constitution.

But soon after statehood, Neal S. Brown sold his holdings in Texas County and moved to Fulton, Mississippi, where he lived in retirement until his death. The last time that W. H. Brown ever saw him was when his uncle took him to the train at Hobart, Oklahoma, in August of 1903, when W. H. Brown left Hobart for his return to Mississippi.

Judge W. H. Brown himself has had a leading part in the history of Oklahoma since he was admitted to the Bar of Oklahoma Territory in 1902, a few months after his graduation (LL.B.) from Washington and Lee University in Virginia. He worked for the adoption of the Oklahoma State Constitution in 1907, and was always a close friend of the late Judge Robert L. Williams (Oklahoma Governor, 1915-19 and President of the Oklahoma Historical Society many years) and his brother-in-law, Hon. Paul Walker. Judge Brown was elected and served as District Judge of the Fifth District (Haskell, Latimer and LeFlore counties) making his home at Stigler (1911-1919). He moved to Muskogee where he made his home and practiced law until his appointment as Assistant Attorney General of the State serving in 1929-1931. He was Municipal Counselor in Oklahoma City (1931-1932) and became Chief City Attorney (1932-1933) during the litigation in the claims made on the abandoned right-of-way of the Rock Island Railroad in downtown Oklahoma City. Judge Brown is a Life Member of the Oklahoma Historical Society. It is hoped that he will contribute some of his own writing to *The Chronicles*—which he has said he will do—from his fund of knowledge on Oklahoma history.

An Old Historical Marker in Washita County

An unusual monument to the memory of a pioneer merchant stands near old Cloud Chief, the County Seat of Washita County

in Oklahoma territorial days. Mr. Nat M. Taylor of Lookeba, Oklahoma, has sent the following item about this historical marker:

The Big Black Post

About six miles east of the little city of Cordell, in Washita County, Oklahoma, a few feet south of State Highway 152, in the northeast corner of a plowed field, there stands a big black post.

Many in passing have noticed it and wondered why it was there and who put it there but few know its story. When my family and I, as a small boy were enroute to Western Oklahoma Territory at the turn of the present century, we were directed to go by the big black post as it was already a landmark and has stood in that capacity since that time.

Before Statehood, Cloud Chief was the county seat of Washita County. There lived in that town during the 1890's, a benevolent man by the name of Charley Garrett. He owned a large general store and considerable other property. He was a good man and very charitable with the settlers of the surrounding country. In fact if it had not been for his help, many of them could not have stayed on their farms as times were very hard.

One day he became involved in an accident with a wagon and team, near where the post now stands, and was killed. As he had many friends, it was decided there should be some kind of a marker set up in his memory. They had little money with which to buy one so they went down to the nearby Washita River and cut a large Walnut Post and planted it near the spot.

More than sixty years have come and gone, prairie fires and inclement weather have blackened the post but it still stands as a tribute to the memory of that hardy pioneer.

The Henry B. Bass's Collection of Lincoln Poetry, Largest in the World

The Editor's Office has received recently the attractive booklet *Henry B. Bass's Collection* by LeRoy H. Fischer, Professor of History at Oklahoma State University, the booklet a reprint of an article from the *Lincoln Herald,* Vol. 65, No. 3 (Fall, 1963). A letter from the donor accompanying the booklet serves as an introduction to Dr. Fischer's contribution on the interest in literature and Oklahoma history here in this state:

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Founded May 27, 1893

19 February 1964

Dear Everybody,

All of us who receive the renowned "Dear Everybody" letters from our genial and sagacious friend, Henry B. Bass, in a way belong to some sort of brotherhood, united together by the common bond of having been selected by him as qualified to receive monthly his views on everything from French cooking to politics.

Some of us may not have realized that he has another hobby along with that of his letter writing, the collecting of poetry pertaining to Abraham Lincoln. It is the finest and most complete collection on the subject extant; and as a matter of fact, it constitutes a reservoir and repository of one of the finest literary and cultural heritages in our State.

Dr. LeRoy Fischer recently undertook, over the objections of Heinie, to call to the attention of others the existence of this collection. I have succeeded in obtaining sufficient reprints of his article in the Lincoln Herald for all of those who receive Heinie's letters.

With the connivance of his secretary, I secured the loan of the mailing list and am pleased to forward to you your copy. I hope you find it worthwhile.

Sincere best regards.

Cordially,

(Signed) George H. Shirk,
President

Dr. Fischer opens the first paragraph of his article: "The world's largest collection of Lincoln poetry had its inception more than a half century ago in Oklahoma's Cherokee Strip . . . Henry B. Bass, known to his friends as 'Heinie,' cannot recall when he was not involved with Lincoln." Daniel C. Bass, the father, when a young man came to Oklahoma Territory at the time of the opening of the Cherokee Strip, in the "Run" of 1893. He impressed his sons with the belief that "the nation's security depended on the guidance of the Republican Party . . ." and that "Lincoln was the greatest man that ever lived."

"Heinie" covered himself with glory when he graduated from the eighth grade as the only one of his class who could recite the twenty-six verses of Lowell's "The Vision of Sir Launfal." This achievement deepened his interest in verse, and he began collecting, memorizing and reciting poems about Lincoln. He was surprised before many years had passed how much poetry had been written on Lincoln, today his collection numbering over 3,000 poems.

The booklet gives interesting items on some of the outstanding titles in the Bass Collection. One of the illustrations is a facsimile of the cover of the song "Oh! why should the spirit of mortal be proud," crediting Abraham Lincoln as the author of the poem ("Mortality") with the piano arrangement by George C. Pearson. There are also splendid photographs of Henry B. Bass showing him with his infectious smile in the midst of his "pride and joy," his Lincoln Poetry Collection.

He is the owner of the D. C. Bass Construction Company of Enid, founded in 1893, the oldest general construction company in Oklahoma and its four adjoining states. He was on the football team during his student days at Missouri University,

and served as Second Lieutenant in World War I in the U.S. Field Artillery. He has traveled widely in his Lincoln and Civil War interests, and has attended most of the Civil War Round Table tours over the country. He is Chairman of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission, and is an active member of several of the Civil War Round tables in this country, including that of Oklahoma City. Dr. Fischer concludes: "The work of Bass in Oklahoma history is also extensive, and since 1950 he has served as a director of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Phillips University of Enid recognized his contributions in the literary and historical field when it awarded him the honorary Doctor of Humanities degree in June, 1962, for 'magnificent service . . . in the realm of literature in general and history in particular'."

BOOK REVIEWS

Great Day In The West. By Kent Ruth. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1963. Pp. 308. $12.50.)

Oklahoma's own Kent Ruth has once again used his talent to author a big book of tremendous scope. Enlisting the help of scores of Western history specialists in 21 states, he selected and wrote about 147 sites that played important roles in the history of the development of the Trans-Mississippi West.

It is quite obvious that a momentous amount of research and devotion went into the making of this book. Each site selected is recreated for today's readers by means of paintings, drawings and the earliest photographs. Thus the reader is shown how the fort, town, post or rendezvous appeared during its "great day" in history. Whenever possible, the author has also secured photographs of the sites as they appear today.

The historical text is of significant value as Mr. Ruth has drawn upon the words of contemporary writers of the day in painting a word picture of the scene. It is felt that one word from an eyewitness is often worth a thousand by a latter day historian.

No one today could match the words of Lewis H. Garrard in describing the Taos he knew. Alfred Jacob Miller painted the trappers and Mountain Men at the Green Mountain Rendezvous and then wrote a word picture of it. An army general named Albert J. Myer spoke most favorably of the climate of Fort Davis, Texas when he was there in February, 1855. There is more, much more, and it is hearty, meaty reading.

We arm chair travelers are carried all over the great, wide West. Words and pictures, for a brief instant, give us a glimpse of the past. One wonders why there aren't more books like this. Perhaps the author will start on another one soon.

Bad Medicine & Good. By Wilbur Sturtevant Nye. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1962. Pp. 291. $5.00.)

In presenting these stories of the Kiowas, the author has, for the most part, used material that was communicated to him, through an interpreter and occasionally through sign language, in interviews during the period 1933-37. A few stories by Iseeo and one by Quanah were told to Captain Hugh L. Scott at Fort Sill in the 1890's. The Scott interviews are contained in his manuscript on the sign language in the Library of Congress.

The Kiowas, like most of the Plains tribes, kept their history alive orally. Among the elders were those who were known as story-tellers and they passed on stories of important tribal events to the young people. The older Kiowas expressed themselves in their own tongue and related their tales in simple, straightforward language. Their spoken language is largely free of fine figures of speech or other literary adornment.

No stranger to Kiowa history, Colonel Nye has taken great care to follow the Indian manner of expression. The forty-four stories in this collection cover such topics as the organization and conduct of war parties, brave deeds of war chiefs, the Grandmother Gods and the difficult days of accepting reservation life. Fortunate we are that these stories of the Kiowa people have been compiled in a single volume. Other tribes would do well to follow the example as set out by this book.

It is a real pleasure to own a book illustrated by one of the best; Nick Eggenhofer. His drawings are bold and strong with a strength of character in them. They add a great deal to the book. There should have been more of them.

It is evident to the reader that there is a bond of mutual respect between the Colonel and the Kiowas. The result is a noble book of very good reading.

—Arthur Shoemaker

Hominy, Oklahoma

Voyage to Santa Fe. By Janice Holt Giles. (Houghton and Mifflin Company. Boston, 1962. Book and Map. $4.95.)

Besides being a noteworthy contribution to the colorful saga of the American frontier, this book ties in with early Oklahoma history. It is beautiful in format with book end map. In the fall of 1821, an explorer named Jacob Fowler traveled from Fort Smith, Arkansas Territory, penetrating the Cross Timbers and covering much of what is now Northeastern Oklahoma. Against this factual background, the author has woven a story tingling with excitement, suspense and high adventure.

So vividly portrayed that he seems to stride from the pages, is the commanding figure of Johnny Fowler, a man of action and given to few words. Driving himself and his teamsters without mercy, Johnny may seem harsh, even ruthless at times. The men resent his iron discipline, but they know better than to disobey.

The wagon train makes its hazardous way through the dense Cross Timbers, where one man is killed by a bear. The heavy wagons roll across the Great Plains with their difficult dry

scrapes, their violent thunderstorms, their danger of lurking Indian bands. The livestock stampedes; wagons break down, mules fall dead in the traces, yet nothing can defeat the indomitable Johnny Fowler.

The one woman in the train is his young wife, Judith Fowler. Leaving her New England home to brave the untamed West, Judith is sometimes fearful, not for herself but for Johnny. Yet in every crisis she displays unflinching courage. She learns the fine art of diplomacy in dealing with the rough and ready mule skinners and wins their respect. These men are unwashed and uncouth, given to sulphurous profanity. Yet they know how to handle the teams of balky mules and to keep the wagon train on the move.

Feeding all these men is a problem. Buffalo and other game might be scarce, rations run low and wood for the cooking fires hard to find, yet somehow Judith always manages to have food and hot coffee for Johnny and his men. An experienced herb woman, she ministers to any sick and injured in the train.

From Johnny's first shouted, "Roll 'em!" to the tune of cracking whips and shouted oaths, the wagon train lumbers westward. Fording swollen streams, bucking rugged, hilly stretches, crawling across endless miles of sand and dwarf mesquite, the journey drags along. Tempers fray, resentment mounts to sullen anger among the teamsters. The travelers face withering heat, blowing sand and dust, driving rain and hail. Yet they stubbornly struggle on, for there is no other choice.

At last, the Sangre de Cristos mountains lift their snow-capped height against the distant sky. Johnny leads the outburst of whoops and cheers, for now their goal of Santa Fe seems nearer. Manuel, the Spanish youth who tends the mules, weeps for joy at the sight. Yet more hazards lie ahead—foothills to be climbed ever so slowly while the heavily loaded wagons slip and sway, the rocky, torturous pass to travel, until finally they reach the vast saucer of the Santa Fe plateau.

Her skin bronzed by sun and wind, her slender body toughened by the five months voyage, Judith happily plans their entry into the rich and bustling city of Santa Fe. The men sing and whistle as they urge the mule teams on, and even Johnny relaxes and grins in high good humor.

The Indian scouts who ride with the wagon train, and whose skill in locating trails and scarce water holes has saved the lives of men and animals, now deck out in their tribal finery for the grand entry. The bearded teamsters shave and spruce up in their poor best.

Past dangers and hardships already forgotten, Judith and Johnny ride proudly side by side into Santa Fe, the city of their dreams.

—Dora Aydelotte

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Battle of Platte Bridge. By J. W. Vaughn. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1963. Pp. 132. $3.95.)

In the Spring of 1858, Louis Guinard completed a toll bridge over the North Platte River near the crossing of the south branch of the Oregon Trail. As the cost of the project was $60,000, the structure must have been substantial; and with tolls running as high as $6 it was of considerable economic importance and value.

Soon known as the Platte Bridge, the location was of great importance in western commerce and became the river crossing for two principal roads and the telegraph line to the Pacific. Adjoining the bridge, a settlement, as well as a military cantonment, developed. The site is now Casper, Wyoming.

In July, 1865, the vagaries of military assignment found detachments of the Eleventh Kansas Cavalry on patrol duty along the telegraph line while awaiting the expiration of their three-year enlistments. By circumstance the Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapaho, partially in revenge for earlier killings by the whites, but more likely as the harbinger of the coming yet futile war of the Redman to stop western expansion, selected the site to make a concerted attack on the vastly outnumbered military. The fighting continued for several days. It was bitter and decimating, with the heroism of Lieut. Caspar Collins of Ohio its climax.

Although written in an indifferent style (i.e. "Richaud was married to a Sioux woman") the volume is packed with an incredible amount of research, statistics, facts, figures and details, all reflecting detailed, exhaustive and painstaking research.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Hunting of the Buffalo. By E. Douglas Branch. (A Bison Book; University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1962. Pp. 240. $1.40.)

As exciting and fast moving as a herd of stampeding buffalo is this narrative of the decline of the American Bison. The book itself is written in much the same manner in which its author lived. One of the most brilliant, even if not the most outstanding writers on Western lore, E. Douglas Branch led a life which

reflects a tragedy almost as saddening as that which befell those great herds of buffalo which once roamed the western plains.

Numerous books have been written on this subject, most of them coming in the early Twentieth Century during the great movement to save what small vestige that remained of the great herds from extermination. Unfortunately, it cannot be said that this volume adds very much to the amount of material accumulated on the subject to that time. What is more important: the gusto and sympathy for the subject, which marks the style in which the book is written.

Of special interest to readers of *The Chronicles* is the extent to which author Branch relied upon the paintings of George Catlin for the illustrations in this volume. Many of the originals of these paintings can be found in the Gilcrease Museum of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

—Wendell E. Howell

Edmond, Oklahoma

Sun Father's Way: The Kiva Murals of Kuaua. By Bertha P. Dutton. (The Unversity of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque; The School of American Research, Santa Fe; Museum of New Mexico Press, Santa Fe, cp 1963. Pp. viii, 237. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, and an appendix by Agnes Sims. $15.00.)

The volume is as beautiful as it is scholarly. Its value to the artist, historian, and anthropologist can hardly be exaggerated.

Dr. Dutton is Curator of Ethnology at the Museum of New Mexico, trained at Columbia University under Drs. Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict. No one can show a more distinguished record as an anthropologist among her contemporaries. She has worked as a field research archaeologist and ethnologist in the Southwest, and *Sun Father's Way* is her bringing together of two divisions of a major discipline.

The story of Kuaua and its murals is a fascinating one in itself. This adobe village, on the Rio Grande, near Bernalillo, New Mexico, probably was Coronado's headquarters in the winter of 1540-41. Today its ruins are a part of a State Monument, which also includes a branch of the Museum of New Mexico.

Spanish military and mission conquest of New Mexico, the Pueblo revolt of 1680 and the reconquest of the territory in 1692, are parts of history too long to be detailed in a review. Tiguex, the Tiwa Indian country in which Kuaua is located, was abandoned by the Indians as they fled before the oncoming Spaniards.

Two and a half centuries later, American archaeologists became interested in locating the exact sites of the pre-Spanish Indian pueblos. There were long discussions as to which was which. Hoping to shed a new light on the problem, the School of American Research, the Museum of New Mexico, and the University of New Mexico began excavation of the site on the west bank of the Rio Grande in March, 1934. Work continued through 1934.

The work disclosed, through tree-ring dating, and comparative study of potsherds, that Kuaua had been established in the 1300's. It extended, south to north for a quarter of a mile along the second terrace of the Rio Grande. Additions to the pueblo had been made at different periods. The *kivas,* or underground ceremonial rooms of the village were sometimes round, sometimes square, indicating occupation of the site by different groups at different times. Six kivas and several ceremonial rooms within the house blocks were uncovered.

In February, 1935, Gordon Vivian, directing work at the site at the time, noticed fragments of painted plaster among the debris taken from a test trench through the south plaza. Carefully tracing the painted pieces to their source, he located Kiva III. At first its walls seemed blank, but careful scraping disclosed numerous layers of murals, and the interior altar, benches, and other appointments typical of kiva furnishings. The altar, too, had been painted.

Painstakingly and at considerable expense, the walls of the kiva were raised from the earth, first having been encased in plaster and boards, and having to be lifted with a block and tackle. The murals were removed to the Anthropology Laboratory of the University of New Mexico. There the layers of plaster were reproduced, one at a time, lifted off with canvas, and preserved. Copies of some of the completed murals can be seen in the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe. Others are in the Harvard Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Dr. Dutton made a selection of photographs of the murals and showed them to older Indians in several Rio Grande and western Pueblos. Some of the informants refused to look at the photographs, or to talk about them. At last, a single priest, at Zuni, consented to supply his interpretation of the murals.

Dr. Dutton makes clear the fact that her discussion and identification of the murals is based on the words of one informant at one Pueblo. Had she been able to obtain comparable information from other villages, it might or might not have agreed with her informant's.

In writing of the Kuaua murals, then, Dr. Dutton combines

archaeology, history, and contemporary ethnology to produce a fascinating result, as readable as it is scholarly. An appendix, by Agnes Sims, of Santa Fe, painter and authority on New Mexico pictographs, relates the mural paintings of Kuaua to rock paintings and carving in other parts of the Southwest. Her work is comparable in quality to Dr. Dutton's.

Bibliography and glossary are appended to the book, and the glossary also serves as an index. Every detail has been worked out with the same care as the original excavation of the kiva murals. The kiva has since been restored, with reproductions of one layer of its precious paintings, and can be visited today by anyone interested in art, science, or history.

The University of New Mexico Press is to be congratulated on the beautiful volume in which the work appears; on the high quality of its illustrations and on the publication of an important contribution to our knowledge of the Southwest.

—Alice Marriott

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

MINNIE REGINA SLIEF
1888-1963

Minnie R. Slief was regarded with affection and high respect by the people of Cheyenne, Oklahoma for her fifty-five years of faithful and kindly service as a pioneer abstractor in this her home town in Roger Mills County. She was born on September 27, 1888 at Caldwell, Kansas, the daughter of Anthony John Slief and Johanna (neé Elsenrath) Slief. Her father made the historic "Run" into the Unassigned Lands of Oklahoma on April 22, 1889, from the North line at Big Camp, Buffalo Springs, Northeast of Hennessey, Oklahoma, and homesteaded four miles Southeast of Dover. His wife and three small daughters, Minnie the younger of the three, joined him late that year after he had built a log cabin for their temporary home. This homestead where Minnie grew up was known as the "Box Springs Farm" for the flowing springs which were used by the Indians and cattlemen as a watering place near the old Chisholm Trail.

Minnie attended the Box Springs School where she received her diploma. In the Fall of 1906, she enrolled in the Capitol City Business College, Guthrie, Oklahoma Territory. Her first employment was with the Constitutional Convention held in Guthrie from November 22, 1906 through September 17, 1907, at which time a general election was held to adopt or reject the Constitution, also to elect all state, district, county and township officers. In the interim following the Convention adjournment and the newly elected officers taking office, Minnie was employed by A. W. West, Attorney General for the Territory of Oklahoma, and later for a short period was employed by the West Realty Company of Guthrie.

The Constitutional Convention defined the boundaries and named the counties and designating the county seats. This necessitated the transcribing of official county records in many areas. Minnie accepted employment with a firm transcribing records in Western Oklahoma including Roger Mills County. When this transcribing was completed for Roger Mills County, Minnie accepted a position with the Miller-Cornel Abstract Company at Cheyenne, the county seat of Roger Mills County. This firm later became the Miller-Baird Abstract Company. On March 15, 1918, Miss Slief purchased R. F. Baird's interest and one Sylvester Grim purchased Madden Miller's interest and the firm became the Slief-Grim Abstract Company, with Miss Slief as its President. In 1921, the firm name became Slief-Vaughn when A. G. T. Vaughn acquired Mr. Grim's interest. It was operated under this firm name until in the late 50's when the abstract firm was acquired by K. C. Perryman and the name changed to the Cheyenne Abstract Company. Miss Slief remained with the firm.

Minnie Slief was elected the first chairman of the Democratic Central Committee of Roger Mills County in 1919. She was active in the American Legion Auxiliary having served as its president and was in charge of the American Legion Poppy Drives for many years. She was a member of the Platonic Club, the Philharmonic Club and the Business and Professional Women's Club. She was active in all civic and fund raising campaigns of the community, most often as the chairman, for such funds as the Christmas Seal Sale, Easter Seal Sale, Heart Association and church benefits. Miss Slief was active in the

Minnie Regina Slief

Western Oklahoma Council of Catholic Women serving in many offices of the organization. She taught Sunday School in the local church at Cheyenne, and was sponsor of the church there having donated the land upon which the church was built. In 1948, as a token of appreciation for her many years of church work she received the papal medal "Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice," one of the highest honors that can be bestowed upon one of Catholic faith.

Miss Minnie Slief belonged to her professional organization, the Oklahoma Abstractors Association. She was also a member of "The '89ers," an association for lineal descendants of those who made the Run into the Oklahoma Unassigned Lands on April 22, 1889.

Miss Slief was known in her community as *"Miss Minnie,"* an endearing term given to her many years before when she became an early resident of Cheyenne on April 6, 1908. In commemoration of this anniversary the Mayor of Cheyenne issued the following:

"PROCLAMATION"

"WHEREAS, on the 6th day of April, 1963, Miss Minnie R. Slief will have been in the land title business in and for Roger Mills County, State of Oklahoma, for 55 years,

"AND WHEREAS, Miss Minnie R. Slief has contributed materially to her church, her clubs, her political party and to each and every community endeavor during said period;

"AND WHEREAS, it is most fitting and proper that her great host of friends and neighbors take time to honor the said Miss Minnie R. Slief for her many years of devoted service to this community and to the people therein;

"NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED, THAT the 6th day of April, 1963, be, and it is hereby proclaimed to be "MISS MINNIE DAY" in Cheyenne, Oklahoma, and all of her great host of friends are seriously urged to join in the festivities honoring her on said date.

"Dated this 28th day of March, 1963, at Cheyenne, Oklahoma.

"W. R. KROWS

"Mayor of the town of Cheyenne, Oklahoma"

The festivities of the day, April 6, 1963, were held by receiving friends and well wishers coming to a close with an evening program held in the American Legion Hall sponsored by the Legion and the American Legion Auxiliary. A program was presented with Mr. Guy Davis as toastmaster, the principal speakers were Judge Giles Peterson, Mrs. John Casady, Mrs. Charlie Burns and a summation by Mr. W. W. Blackburn of Elk City, Oklahoma. Songs appropriate to the occasion were sung by Gus Harrington and Mrs. Charlie Burns. Refreshments were served by the American Legion and Auxiliary.

[1] PROGRAM
"MISS MINNIE DAY"
CHEYENNE, OKLAHOMA
APRIL 6, 1963

PRESENTATION OF OLD GLORY .....AMERICAN LEGION
PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE .....LED BY MAYOR W. R. KROWS
NATIONAL ANTHEM .....MRS. CHARLIE BURNS
INTRODUCTION OF HONORED GUESTS .....MR. GUY DAVIS
MISS MINNIE'S "ABSTRACT" .....JUDGE GILES PETERSON
"THE WORLD IS MINE TONIGHT" .....GUS HARRINGTON
A SUCCESSFUL LIFE .....MRS. JOHN CASADY

"CLIMB EVERY MOUNTAIN" .....MRS. CHARLIE BURNS
SUMMATION .....MR. W. W. BLACKBURN
"I LOVE YOU TRULY" .....LED BY MRS. CHARLIE BURNS
RETIRE THE COLORS .....AMERICAN LEGION
REFRESHMENTS .....AMERICAN LEGION AND AUXILIARY

The Cheyenne Star newspaper, date of April 4, 1963 carried twenty-one ads from merchants and other business firms in which they congratulated Miss Slief for her fifty-five years as an abstractor in Roger Mills County. In addition, a feature article was published giving a resume of Miss Slief's activities in the community, Mayor W. R. Krows', proclamation for "Miss Minnie Day," and the Resolutions of the Roger Mills County Bar Association for her diligent service and kindnesses shown to them at all times. The Editorial gave reasons for the celebration which were:

"This week Cheyenne is endeavoring to show its appreciation for one of its great citizens, Miss Minnie Slief. Regardless of the many wonderful words of appreciation, regardless of all the honors bestowed upon her, the thing that Miss Minnie will appreciate the most, is the fact that she is appreciated. No doubt the expressions of appreciation for Miss Minnie Slief as stated by the people of Cheyenne will be an inspiration to younger persons to so live that their lives too may be appreciated."

Miss Minnie Slief passed away suddenly on July 15, 1963 at Cheyenne, Oklahoma. Requiem services were celebrated at St. Joseph's Church, Cheyenne on July 19, 1963 with burial in the family lot, Kingfisher Cemetery, Kingfisher, Oklahoma.

—GOLDA B. SLIEF

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

IRENE BUZZARD ROBISON
1891 - 1963

Irene Buzzard Robison was born December 25, 1891, in St. Mary's Kansas, the eldest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Buzzard, who came to Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma Territory, when Irene was three months old. Mr. Buzzard bought a "claim" near the little town of Dale where the family lived for several years. Two sisters and a brother made up the family after their father died. Irene attended school at Dale, and graduated from McLoud High school, and later from Central State College at Edmond. She taught school at Dale, and at other schools in the County.

She was married to Clarence Robison, then Assistant County Attorney, November 28, 1916. The family lived at Tecumseh where they were active in the religious, social, and civic life of the community until 1944, when they moved to Shawnee where they lived until her death November 1, 1963. Funeral services were held at the First Presbyterian Church, with the Reverend Wendell Patterson, pastor, officiating. Interment was in the Shawnee Mission cemetery.

In this brief sketch on Mrs. Robison's life, one can only tell something of the consecrated work and rich personality of this woman who spent so much of her time and strength in service for others. Her sympathy for the unfortunate, her generosity to the poor, her patience with those who have failed, her pride in the success of those who have earned a reward was an inspiration to others to strive. Even her keen appreciation of music, and art, her love of books, her loyalty to friends was exemplified in her daily life.

First in Mrs. Robison's life was her family. Except for her religion, her family was her strongest interest. Her three daughters, Mrs. W. F. Mathews of Oklahoma City; Mrs. Ray E. J. Millard, of Miami, Florida; Mrs. Lou Alice Hamlin, of the home; and Dr. Clarence Robison, Jr. of Oklahoma City, need no introduction. They each reflect many of their mother's characteristics.

Her church activities included any active service that did not interfere with her home or family duties. For instance she had baked the communion bread for the Church service continuously for many years.

Mrs. Robison had belonged to some of the active Women's clubs in both Tecumseh, and Shawnee, where she never shirked a required obligation, and was an intelligent leader in discussions of National Affairs. She gave more time, strength and energy to the work of the Pottawatomie County Historical Society than any other member. One who knew her well tells how she loved this work. Mrs. Nora Drinnan, of Shawnee, Oklahoma, who prepared "A Resolution" to the memory of Mrs. Robison.

A Resolution

"I wish to pay a tribute to the memory of our beloved friend, Mrs. Clarence Robison, who for years was president of the Pottawatomie County Historical Society, and Curator of the museum at the time of her death.

"She had three main interests in life: her family, her church and the Historical Society of Pottawatomie County. I lived near her at the time she accepted the leadership of this very worthwhile organization.

"Being a woman of intelligence, faith and vision, and blessed with a sense of true values, she began the rehabilitation of the Historical Society and the reconstruction of the facilities of the little old Shawnee Mission Church, making it a museum for the growing Historical Society.

"Today, this museum is one of our most interesting historical spots, with relics and trophies of the earliest history of the County, and of the State of Oklahoma.

"Her work began to attract attention. Former residents of this county began writing to her, proud to identify themselves as natives of Pottawatomie County. Some sent valuable statistics, which they treasured, to be placed in the museum. As we look about this museum and observe the records and portraits of those who helped form the history of this County, whose influence is still widely felt, we realize that this museum is an essential part of the history of our State.

"The death of Irene Robison is a blow to this Society. But it is hoped that those who follow will catch the 'Torch' of her interest in this worthwhile organization and make of her vision an ever growing, flourishing tribute to the Pioneers of Pottawatomie County, State of Oklahoma."

Of the many who are anxious to testify to the work of this wonderful woman we can use only a few from those who knew her best. Mrs. Lizzie H. Henke, of Shawnee says:

"My memories of Irene Robison are many, but just what can I say in so few allotted lines? I have known her since childhood. All through the years we have shared our sorrows and joys together. From our

THE ROBISON FAMILY

Front row, left to right: Mrs. Robison, Judge Clarence Robison, Aggie Jo Millard. Stand-

first day in school, on through the grades we sat together on the old double desk seats.

"She had a deep sense of right and wrong. I remember how she begged her mother to take a mouse away from their cat, because she thought it would be wrong for the cat to devour the mouse.

"No truer, or more loyal friend ever lived than Irene Robison."

Mrs. Florence R. Pigg, herself deeply interested in Pottawatomie County Historical Society said: "In the death of Mrs. Irene Robison, the Pottawatomie County Historical Society has suffered an irreparable loss. Serving as president a number of years, then as curator of the museum, her interest, enthusiasm and energy was an inspiration to all. She was untiring in her efforts to promote the growth and progress of the Society, in her desire to accomplish much of value for posterity. Her charming personality won the hearts of all who knew her."

Mrs. Lola Gardner, corresponding secretary of the Historical Society, wrote: "Mrs. Irene Robison was a dedicated worker for the Pottawatomie County Historical Society. An early day pioneer in this county, she wished to preserve the historical data, and the antiques connected with it. She loved the work as president of the Society, and as curator of the museum."

The Reverend Wendell K. Patterson, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Shawnee said: "Mrs. Robison was a faithful member of our church, and in many ways served Him who is The Bread of Life."

—FLORENCE DRAKE

Shawnee, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS — OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
January 23, 1964

At 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, January 23, 1964, the quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was convened by President George H. Shirk in the Board Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building.

Members of the Board present were: Mr. Lou Allard, Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, Judge Richard H. Cloyd, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mr. J. Lloyd Jones, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. W. E. McIntosh, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, and Mr. George H. Shirk. Absent members of the Board were: Mr. W. D. Finney, Mrs. Frank Korn, and Miss Genevieve Seger.

It was moved by Mr. Mountcastle and seconded by Judge Hefner the absent members so requesting be excused from the meeting. The motion passed.

Mr. Miller moved the reading of the minutes of the last meeting be dispensed. The motion, seconded by Mr. Mountcastle, was adopted.

President Shirk introduced the new member of the Board of Directors, Mr. W. E. "Dode" McIntosh, and welcomed him to the Board. Mr. McIntosh expressed his thanks and his pleasure at being elected to the Board.

Mr. Fraker reported on the gifts received during the last quarter and asked they be accepted. Judge Hefner moved the gifts be accepted, and with the second of Mr. Curtis the motion was approved.

The names of forty-five new Life Members and seventy-three new Annual Members were presented by Mr. Fraker. He said that following his mailing a bulletin to all members announcing the raise in dues, many Life Memberships were purchased prior to the January 1st deadline. Judge Clift moved that the new members be accepted and Mr. Mountcastle seconded the motion which was passed.

It was further reported by Mr. Fraker that sales at the reception desk for the calendar year of 1963 had totaled $1,395.68.

A series of articles are being prepared in the "Orbit", magazine section of the Sunday Daily Oklahoman, said Mr. Fraker, relative to objects in the museums of the Oklahoma Historical Society. These are being prepared under the direction of Mr. Ferdie Deering, editor of the "Orbit". One such article, relative to the stagecoach, has already appeared. In the week of February 12th there will be a picture and story about Lincoln's chair, which is in the Union Room of the Society.

In concluding his report, the Administrative Secretary said that he and Chief Curator Dale had met with Dr. W. Eugene Hollon, of the University of Oklahoma, in regard to preliminary arrangements for the joint convention of the American Association for State and Local History and the Western History Association to be held at Oklahoma City on October 29th, 30th, and 31st.

Mrs. Bowman, Treasurer, presented mimeographed copies of the report on special funds of the Society to members of the Board which

showed these funds in good condition. She also reported that $1,200.00 had been transferred from the Life Membership Endowment Fund into Account 18 in accordance with the Trust Indenture.

Mr. Muldrow seconded the motion made by Mr. McBride that the Treasurer's report be accepted. The motion passed when put. It was agreed that Life Membership dues would continue to be placed 4/5 in the Endowment Fund and 1/5 in the current operating fund (Account 18).

Mrs. Bowman presented to the Society three copies of the program of the Memorial Service presented on the campus of Oklahoma Baptist University in memory of John Fitzgerald Kennedy, President of the United States, who was assassinated on November 22, 1963. The program had been prepared by Dr. James R. Scales, President of Oklahoma Baptist University. He wrote the eulogy used in the service.

Dr. Morrison distributed copies of his report on the progress that is being made on the restoration of Fort Washita, a copy of which is attached hereto. He stated that since August 26, 1963, approximately four thousand people have signed the register book, and that this is probably about half of the people who have visited Fort Washita.

Mr. Muldrow moved that the Board express its appreciation to Dr. Morrison for his work at Fort Washita. This motion was seconded by Mrs. Bowman and Mr. Miller. President Shirk said that the Board formally congratulates, commends, and extends its hearty thanks to Dr. Morrison and his committee for the restoration work being done at Fort Washita.

In his report for the Publications Committee, Mr. McBride stated that *The Chronicles* would henceforward carry Mr. Fraker's name as Business Manager.

President Shirk said he was receiving splendid results from the circularization of the membership of the Oklahoma Historical Society a request for information on the origin of place names in Oklahoma. He said the book, giving the origin of place names in Oklahoma, would soon be published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

Reporting for the Microfilm Committee, Mr. Phillips said that an article in a recent issue of the Oklahoma Publisher showed some pictures of the microfilm operations at the Oklahoma Historical Society. He stated that the man who wrote the editorial in connection with the story had formerly been opposed to the microfilming of newspapers, but having observed the results of the Society's program, had changed his mind and lauded the Oklahoma Historical Society for the microfilm project.

Plans are in the making, said Mr. Phillips, for the development of a newspaper museum. He noted that several presses and other pieces of newspaper equipment had already been secured by the Society.

Commendation of Mr. Ben Blackstock, manager of the Oklahoma Press Association, and his staff was made by Mr. Shirk. He said that the Press Association and the Oklahoma Historical Society have the closest and most pleasant relations.

Mr. Bass gave his quarterly report on the activities of the Civil War Centennial Commission. He said that Dr. A. M. Gibson, archivist at the University of Oklahoma, is working on a bibliography of all books, magazine articles, and pamphlets concerning the Civil War in

Oklahoma. He announced there will be a commemoratory ceremony of the Battle of Middle Boggy on February 13th. He said the Civil War Centennial Commission will meet in Atoka and go from there to the battle site. Mr. Bass voiced a request that the 1965 Annual Tour be so scheduled so it can be at Doaksville on June 23rd, as that was the date in 1865 when General Stand Watie surrendered. He was the last Confederate General officer to surrender.

Certificates of Commendation from the Civil War Centennial Commission were presented by Mr. Bass to Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Miss Muriel H. Wright, and Dr. B. B. Chapman for the outstanding assistance and contributions they have made to the work of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission.

A suggestion was made by Mr. Jones that plans be made to continue the day-by-day history articles, being written by Mr. Shirk, after the end of the Civil War Centennial. This idea was referred by the Chair to the Publications Committee.

Appointed to represent the Oklahoma Historical Society at the Battle of Middle Boggy ceremonies were Judge Busby and Dr. Morrison. Mr. Shirk announced that the services would begin at 2:30 p.m. on February 13th.

The Board formally expressed its appreciation to Mr. Phillips for an editorial written by him and published in the Seminole Producer concerning the work of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

After remarks by Chairman Emeritus Miller of the Tour Committee and Chairman Bowman, the general outline of the tour was presented by Mr. Fraker, Tour Director. As outlined, the tour will begin at Guthrie, move north to Ponca City and then westward to such places as Enid, Woodward, and other points. A motion was made by Mr. Allard, seconded by Mr. Muldrow and adopted by the Board that the tour as presented by Mr. Fraker be approved.

President Shirk announced that a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society had been submitted and was being printed in *The Chronicles* for action at the next Annual Meeting. The proposed amendment is as follows:

> "If no additional nominations are received, thus resulting in no contest, the Administrative Secretary at the meeting of the Board of Directors where such ballots otherwise would be canvassed shall cast one vote and declare the five nominees elected."

Inasmuch as no other nominations had been made, the Chair requested that the Board confirm the re-election of the five members whose terms were expiring in January of 1964, namely: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. Joe W. McBride, and Mr. R. M. Mountcastle. On the motion of Mr. Allard and second of Mr. Jones, the Board unanimously approved the recommendation that the aforementioned members of the Board be re-elected for another five-year term.

It was moved by Judge Clift and seconded by Dr. Harbour that the Company of Military Historians be invited to establish their national offices at Fort Sill. The motion passed.

It was moved by Mr. Jones and seconded by Mr. Mountcastle, that Sculptor Willard Stone of Locust Grove be invited to have a showing

at the Oklahoma Historical Society. This motion was in line with a suggestion of Governor Henry Bellmon. The motion passed when voted upon. It was also moved by Mr. Jones and seconded by Mr. Mountcastle that the Oklahoma Historical Society seek to purchase some of Mr. Stone's work. This motion also passed.

Mr. Shirk appointed Mr. Boydstun to be the official representative of the Oklahoma Historical Society at the plaque presentation ceremony at Fort Gibson February 1st.

That the Oklahoma Historical Society sponsor a tour to Germany, and other points in Europe was a possibility suggested by President Shirk. He said that the sponsorship and successful culmination of such tour would be of tremendous publicity value to the Society. He named a committee of R. O. Wilkin and Robert L. Newton, Co-Chairmen, along with Joe W. McBride, Jordan B. Reaves, Elmer L. Fraker, Kent Ruth, and George H. Shirk to investigate the feasibility of such tour and report at the next meeting of the Board of Directors.

After some discussion of a claim that had been submitted by Otto Spring for services purported to have been rendered by him to the Society more than thirty years ago, it was moved by Mr. McBride and seconded by Dr. Harbour that such claims be denied. The motion was adopted unanimously.

The President added that the Board had noted with pleasure the article about Mr. Fraker in a recent issue of "History News," the publication of the American Association for State and Local History.

Mr. Shirk introduced Major Charles W. Ditreau, President of the Oklahoma Writers Association. Major Ditreau proposed that the Oklahoma Historical Society act as co-sponsor with the Oklahoma Writers Association and invite John Steinbeck to come to Oklahoma. Judge Busby voiced the opinion that as a Board, the Directors should in no way take formal action in this matter.

Dr. Chapman announced that the Rock Island Railroad Company donated to the Oklahoma Historical Society a microfilm copy of two manuscripts in the library of the company. One is the *Official History of the Rock Island Railroad,* by George H. Crosby, and the other is the *Oklahoma* volume of construction records.

It was stated by Dr. Chapman that in December the Agronomy Department of Oklahoma State University requested information concerning the establishment of an historical marker for the A. C. Magruder wheat plots, or "O" Field, to popularize America's most prolonged experiment in the use of fertilizers in wheat production. The experiment has been carried on continuously since 1892, with valuable results being obtained. Chapman added that Mr. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, discussed with the department the types of historical markers, costs, and location; also that while at the University he gave a lecture on the history and services of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mr. Shirk suggested that the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society be held on the fourth Thursday of April at 9:30 a.m. Judge Hefner moved that this date be approved, Mr. Muldrow seconded, and the motion passed.

The President stated that in January of even numbered years the Board of Directors are to hold their election of officers. He, therefore, turned the meeting over to Judge Hefner to preside during the election. Judge Hefner asked the pleasure of the Board. Mr. Allard moved

that the present officers be re-elected by acclamation. This was seconded by Judge Clift and passed unanimously. The officers thus elected for another two-year term are: George H. Shirk, President; H. Milt Phillips, First Vice-President; Fisher Muldrow, Second Vice-President; Mrs. George L. Bowman, Treasurer; and Elmér L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary.

Committee appointments announced by Mr. Shirk are: Executive Committee—Joe W. McBride, R. G. Miller.

Publications Committee—Joe McBride, Chairman; Lou Allard; Elmer L. Fraker; B. B. Chapman; E. E. Dale; H. Milt Phillips.

Newspaper Archives Committee—H. Milt Phillips, Chairman; Lou Allard; Genevieve Seger; Jenkin Lloyd Jones; Ben Blackstock; Ray Dwyer.

Historic Sites Committee—W. E. McIntosh, Chairman; George H. Shirk; James D. Morrison; Orel Busby; James Bullard; Glenn E. Robberson; Mrs. Grant Foreman; T. L. Ballenger; Wendell E. Howell; Dave D. Price; Jordan B. Reaves; Elmer L. Fraker.

House and Grounds Committee—Henry B. Bass, Chairman; Q. B. Boydstun; Richard H. Cloyd.

Library Committee—Joe W. Curtis, Chairman; Emma Estill-Harbour; B. B. Chapman; E. E. Dale; Mrs. John D. Frizzell.

Fort Washita Commission—James D. Morrison, Chairman; Henry B. Bass; Fisher Muldrow; George H. Shirk; C. M. Milner; Harold Weichbrodt; Wendell E. Howell; Ward S. Merrick.

Membership Committee—R. M. Mountcastle, Chairman; W. D. Finney; Elmer L. Fraker.

Oklahoma Historical Day Committee—W. E. McIntosh, Chairman; Elmer L. Fraker.

Annual Tour Committee—R. G. Miller, Chairman Emeritus; Mrs. Edna Bowman, Chairman; Richard H. Cloyd; J. G. Clift; Genevieve Seger; Bob Foresman. Elmer L. Fraker was named Tour Director.

Mr. Phillips moved that the Board of Directors formally thank the United Press International for sending out the "One Hundred Years Ago in Indian Territory" column on their wires. Mr. McBride seconded this motion, which was passed by the Board.

Judge Johnson announced that representatives of the Oklahoma Historical Society would meet with members of the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board on February 12th to discuss the care of the Fort Gibson properties.

There being no further business, Mr. Shirk declared the meeting adjourned at 12:10 p.m.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED — JANUARY, 1964

LIBRARY:

1. *Western Poems*—Col. Charles D. Randolph
   Donor: Col. Charles D. Randolph, Davenport, Iowa.

2. Indian Sign Language Collection—Drawn and Compiled by H. E. (Choc) Wilkes.
"Red Wing"—An Indian Fable
"Sermon on the Mount"
"Indian Sign Language and Symbols"
"The American Indians of Yesteryear"
"My Adventure in Public Speaking"
Donor: H. E. (Choc) Wilkes, 2124 Carey Place, Oklahoma City

3. "Your Government's Records in the National Archives"
"Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Files in the National Archives"
"Records in the National Archives Relating to Confederate Soldiers"
"Compiled Military Service Records in the National Archives"
"Age and Citizenship Records in the National Archives"
"Genealogical Records in the National Archives"
"The National Archives"
"Progress Report, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1962-1963"
"Preliminary Inventories—Cartographic Records of the Bureau of Census"
"Population Schedules, 1800-1870—Index to Counties and Major Cities"
List of 1890 Population Schedules—National Archives.
Fort Gibson and Fort Supply Records in the National Archives
North Carolina Pension Abstracts of the Revolution, War of 1812, and Indian Wars—Vol. 6—Annie Walker Burns
Baltimore Marriage Records, 1823-1826 and Index—Annie Walker Burns
Virginia Pension Abstracts of the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and Indian Wars. Vol. 19—Lucy Kate McGhee
Pension Abstracts of Maryland Soldiers of the Revolution, War of 1812, and Indian Wars Who Settled in Kentucky—Mrs. Carl W. McGhee
Records of Harlan County, Kentucky—1830 Census—Annie Walker Burns
Family Bible Records of Harlan County, Kentucky—Annie Walker Burns
Donor: B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

4. 18 Copies of *Phi Kappa Sigma News Letter,* Winter 1957-Winter 1963
Themis of Zeta Tau Alpha
Independent Petroleum Monthly
Kansas-Oklahoma Oil Reporter
The Oklahoma Professional Engineer
The Oklahoma Mason
"Orbit" Sections of *The Daily Oklahoman*
Original Composition: "Snow and Mistletoe"—Bill Crosno, 1958
The New American Dictionary of the English Language, 1882 Edition
Donor: Harry C. Stallings, 217 N.W. 20th, Oklahoma City.

5. *The Hamiltons of South Berwick, Maine, 1651-1963*—Harlan Hamilton
Donor: Harlan Hamilton, Upper New York, N. Y.

6. 9 Copies of *Americas Magazine,* Feb.-Sept., 1963 and October, 1962
Donor: Miss Gladys A. Warren, Oklahoma City.

7. *Mangum Reservoir Archaeological Survey, Greer and Harmon Counties, Oklahoma* (Oklahoma River Basin Survey Project)—Don Wyckoff
Donor: Don Wyckoff, Norman, Oklahoma.

8. *Place Names in Oklahoma*—
1956 Copyrighted by Eugene Brewington
Kelham Avenue Baptist Church Calendar of Activities, 1951
Salina, Kansas Telephone Directory, March, 1955
Hutchinson, Kansas Telephone Directory, February, 1955
Norman, Oklahoma Telephone Directory, November, 1954
Niagara Falls Scenic Booklet
Newspaper Clipping Regarding Gus Bobbitt Home, Center, Oklahoma.
Donor: Eugene Brewington, 1714 North Missouri, Oklahoma City

9. *Lindsey Family*—Virginia Hambelin Rowley
Donor: Florence B. Perry, Oklahoma City

10. The Willie Emerson Murray Album Collection
Donor: Mrs. G. W. Potter, Weatherford, Oklahoma

11. The J. William Cordell Collection
The Cherokee Strip—George Rainey.
The Stripper—E. Lee Adams.
A Commentary on St. Paul's Letter to the Galatians by Martin Luther—S. S. Schmucker.
Law and Procedure Followed by the Oklahoma State Senate Sitting As A Court of Impeachment Together with Journal of Proceedings in Watson and Welch Cases, June 15, 1915.
Laws of Business for All States of the Union—Theophilus Parsons.
Transcript of Proceedings of the Senate of the Ninth Legislature, Extraordinary Session of the State of Oklahoma sitting as a Court of Impeachment, 1923.
A Selection of Leading Cases on Various Branches of the Law—John William Smith.
Condensed Reports of Cases in Supreme Court of the United States—Richard Peters.
Commentaries on the Laws of England—Sir William Blackstone.
Criminal Procedure—Joel Prentiss Bishop.
State of Oklahoma, Session Laws of 1925.
Introduction to American Law—Timothy Walker.
Oklahoma Red Book—Seth K. Corden and W. B. Richards.
Transcript of Proceedings of the Senate of the 12th Legislature Sitting as a Court of Impeachment, 1929.
Testimony Taken Before the Committee of Impeachment and Investigation of Executive, Legislative and Judicial Officers, 1923.
Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Oklahoma Sitting as a Court of Impeachment, December 6, 1927.
Proceedings of the Special Session of the Eleventh Legislature, December, 1927.
Journal of the Senate of the Extraordinary Session of the Eighth Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, 1921.
Session Laws of 1923 of the State of Oklahoma.
Oklahoma Session Laws of 1936-1937.
A Guide to the Iraq Museum Collections.
A Treatise on the Law of Private Corporations—Victor Morawetz.
A Treatise on Instruction to Juries in Civil and Criminal Cases—De Witt C. Blashfield.
A Treatise on the Law of Commercial Paper—Christopher G. Tiedeman.
The Law Glossary—Thomas Tayler.
Revised Law and Form Book.
A History of the State of Oklahoma—Luther B. Hill.
Commentaries on American Law—James Kent.
A Manual of Statutes and Forms of the State of Kansas.

Commentaries on the Criminal Law—Joel Prentiss Bishop.
A Treatise on the Law of Pleading—Samuel Maxwell.
A Treatise on the Law of Evidence—Simon Greenleaf.
Adam and Cain—William H. Murray.
The Finished Scholar—William H. Murray.
Moman Pruiett, Criminal Lawyer.
A Law Dictionary—John Bouvier.
Tattlings of a Retired Politician—Forrest Crissey.
Oklahoma Illustrated—O. C. Seely.
Marshal of the Last Frontier—Zoe Tilghman.
Personal Recollections of Ex-Governor Walton—Ernest T. Bynum.
First Legislature of Oklahoma, Rules of the Senate 1907-1908.
Will Rogers, Ambassador of Good Will—Patrick O'Brien.
Will Rogers—Betty Rogers.
Following Invasions—Emery G. Jones.
Donor: Mrs. J. William Cordell, Oklahoma City.

12. Envelope from First Air Mail Flight out of Muskogee, Oklahoma, March 12, 1938.
United States Army Honorable Discharge Papers and Clippings concerning Robert Blackwell Finnell.
Donor: Mrs. May Morin, Georgetown, Kentucky.

13. *Knight Family*—Ray R. Knight
Roberts and Mitchell Families—Ray R. Knight
Monfort Family with McChesney and Ray—Ray R. Knight
Morris Family—Ray R. Knight
Donor: Ray R. Knight, Minneapolis, Minn.

14. *'Neath August Sun*—1901
Fred in A Fix—Child's Book, 1881.
McMaster's Magazine
"The English Westerners' Brand Book" Vol. 5, No. 2, January 1963.
Official Program—Autographed to Mrs. Zoe A. Tilghman from Milt Hinkle.
Critique on *Beating Back*—Al Jennings, Oklahoma outlaw; article entitled "Fooling Five Million" by James F. Price.
Correspondence from Gaines Kincaid, Hollywood, California.
Collections of Clippings and Articles on Oklahoma and Indian Territory History.
Donor: Mrs. Zoe A. Tilghman, 3130 North Barnes, Oklahoma City.

15. *Explorers and Travellers*—Adolphus W. Greely.
Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress, Official Proceedings, 1910.
Donor: Mrs. R. W. Gimpel, 3144 N.W. 22nd, Oklahoma City.

16. Program: 3rd Annual Chamber of Commerce Banquet, Shattuck, Oklahoma, October 18, 1962.
Donor: Ralph Rose, Shattuck, Oklahoma.

17. *Nowata Daily Star*—Semi-Centennial Edition, October 18, 1957
Donor: Max Kendall, Nowata, Oklahoma.

18. Issues of *United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine*
Donor: Mrs. King Larimore, 1924 N.W. 20th, Oklahoma City.

19. Collection of Photostats Regarding Confederate Postal Service in Indian Territory.
General Staff Officers' Manual—Air, Ground Services; 1946
Staff Officers' Field Manual Organization, Technical and Logistical Data.
"Fort Sill Guide"—Rosa Bergman, Lawton, Oklahoma.
"Handbook for Buildings of Colonial Williamsburg"

Oklahoma State Highway Map, 1948.
Anniversary Souvenir Edition, 1869-1964 of *The Cannoneer* of the Lawton Publishing Company, Fort Sill, Oklahoma; January 10, 1964.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

MUSEUM

PICTURES:

Worcester Academy
Donor: Editorial Department

Pioneer Woman Statue, six views
Donor: Planning Board

First County Normal School in Oklahoma County
E. D. Nix, U.S. Marshal
Sequoyah's Cabin
Fort Cobb 1859
Donor: Copied by the Society

Drumright Oil Field
Oilton Oil Field
Donor: John M. Frazier

George Shirk, Speaker at Cherokee Strip Reunion
Donor: George Shirk

Will Rogers
Donor: Charles L. McGee

Flag from the USS Oklahoma
Placing the wreath at the Anchor of the Battleship Oklahoma, December 7, 1963
Donor: Leon C. Kolb

Faculty at the University of Oklahoma, 1911
Donor: Miss Mary Paxton

Bishop Francis C. Kelley
Bishop Eugene J. McGuinness
Donor: Oklahoma Courier

Will Rogers (two photographs)
Donor: Congressman Ed Edmondson

William Mahone
Richard W. Anderson
John Pelham
Wade Hampton
J. E. D. Stuart
Stonewall Jackson
Donor: Copied by the Society

Buffalo Springs, April 21, 1889
Donor: Miss Muriel H. Wright

EXHIBITS:

Cradle Board Cover
Donor: Frank Spangler

Dentist Chair used in Oklahoma City about 1900.
Donor: Mrs. Edward Bucher

"The Oklahoma Pow Wow," issue September, 1939, Ship's paper, USS Oklahoma

Menu, last Christmas Menu, December 25, 1940, of the Battleship Oklahoma

Program, December 7, 1963, when flag from USS Oklahoma was presented to Wesley Wright Post #352, American Legion.

Clippings from Daily Oklahoman, July 12, 1960 and December 24, 1963.

Discharge Papers of Leon Charles Kolb who served on the USS Oklahoma

Separation Papers of Leon Charles Kolb.
Donor: Leon Charles Kolb.

Confederate Uniform, owned by Governor William Byrd, Chickasaw
Donor: Vera Jemison Watson

LIST OF NEW LIFE AND ANNUAL MEMBERS
October 25, 1963 to January 23, 1964

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

Adams, Oliver Black	Brcken Arrow, Oklahoma
Armstrong, William B.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Baerreis, Dr. David A.	Madison, Wisconsin
Baugh, John H., Jr.	Meeker, Oklahoma
Baxter, Mrs. Joanne Phillips	Richardson, Texas
Caldwell, Tom J.	Drumright, Oklahoma
Calvert, Mrs. Maude R.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Cannon, Mrs. H. D.	Bartlesville, Oklahoma
Cartwright, Wilburn	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Chenault, Mrs. Harry	Checotah, Oklahoma
Denslow, Mrs. F. B.	Enid, Oklahoma
Dolman, Rev. Joseph C.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Garrett, Dr. Paul H.	Dallas, Texas
Grass, Mrs. Frank	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Hurst, Miss Sharon	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Jones, A. R.	Vienna, Virginia
Kennedy, Dr. George R.	Bartlesville, Oklahoma
Kennedy, Richard C.	Vinita, Oklahoma
Kingsbery, Robert H., Jr.	South Houston, Texas
Lhotka, Dr. John F., Jr.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Long, Miss Lyda Louise	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Long, Dr. Wendell McLean	Minneapolis, Minnesota
McMullen, Mrs. Eulialee Krumme	Ventura, California
Martin, A. C.	Okemah, Oklahoma
Meador, William Ralph	Ponca City, Oklahoma
Motter, Robert T., Jr.	Muskogee, Oklahoma
Nelson, Juanita	Midwest City, Oklahoma
Perry, Sequoyah A.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Phillips, Stuart Chaney	Seminole, Oklahoma
Phillips, Ted Steven	Seminole, Oklahoma
Quinlan, Wayne	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Reaves, Jordan B.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Reese, Elmer F.	Hoisington, Kansas
Robberson, Mrs. P. B.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Schneider, Pete	Baltimore, Maryland
Shwen, Bill	Lawton, Oklahoma
Skinner, Dr. James A.	Norman, Oklahoma
Smith, Earl L.	Sebring, Florida
Stone, Brian Gordon	Waurika, Oklahoma
Stone, Edward Dewey	Waurika, Oklahoma
Stone, Nick Harris	Waurika, Oklahoma
Vammen, Adolph N.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Wildman, J. Ross	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Williamson, M. M.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Witcher, William R.	Tulsa, Oklahoma

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

Adwan, Fred	Seminole, Oklahoma
Alexander, Mrs. C. A.	Tulsa, Oklahoma

Allerton, Mrs. Charles M.	Fort Worth, Texas
Bennett, Mrs. Delton	Topeka, Kansas
Black, Miss Linda	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Braddy, Alfred W.	Lawton, Oklahoma
Bray, C. M., Sr.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Brown, Harold V.	Cushing, Oklahoma
Call, Randolph	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Cook, Mrs. C. E.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Coyner, Paul H.	Edmond, Oklahoma
Crouse, Miss Emily M.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Daugherty, Mrs. Edith A.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Davis, B. E.	Mangum, Oklahoma
Davis, Ruby Jo	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Deering, Ferdie J.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Ditmars, Mrs. Jewell R.	Muskogee, Oklahoma
Eubank, Mrs. D. M.	Raytown, Missouri
Farmer, John C.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Fishel, Lavern	Coalgate, Oklahoma
Garrison, Denzil D.	Bartlesville, Oklahoma
Hanna, Mrs. Jean R.	Falls Church, Virginia
Harrison, Miss Melanie	Cushing, Oklahoma
Harter, Mrs. Ruth	Enid, Oklahoma
Hewitt, Roger	Austin, Texas
Hoff, John D., Jr.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Huff, George F.	Ada, Oklahoma
Huffman, Genevia Katherine	Citrus Heights, California
Jack, Mrs. Vera James	Sulphur, Oklahoma
Jacks, Mrs. J. V.	Purcell, Oklahoma
Jackson, Mrs. O. S.	El Reno, Oklahoma
James, Overton	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Keller, Dr. J. P.	Duncan, Oklahoma
Kerr, Mrs. George D.	Norman, Oklahoma
Leake, James A.	Chandler, Oklahoma
Markert, Dr. G. Conrad	Anadarko, Oklahoma
Martin, Charles	Ardmore, Oklahoma
Matthews, Mrs. Mary	Corpus Christi, Texas
McFadden, Mrs. Leo M.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
McIntyre, Artie	Topeka, Kansas
McPherren, Charles Johnston, II	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Miller, Robert L.	Norman, Oklahoma
Miller, T. B.	Wewoka, Oklahoma
Mitchell, L. W.	Wichita, Kansas
Moore, Chauncey O.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Moore, Mrs. Chauncey O.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Morgan, Wayne B.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Morrison, C. W.	Bartlesville, Oklahoma
Nunn, Walter A.	Lawton, Oklahoma
Paschall, Mrs. J. B.	Marietta, Oklahoma
Patrick, Clyde T.	Sapulpa, Oklahoma
Patterson, Mrs. Nellie	Hitchcock, Oklahoma
Priest, James Robert	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Ramsden, Miss Bertha	Brooklyn, New York
Reynolds, W. C.	China Lake, California
Richardson, Oda L.	Dougherty, Oklahoma
Robinson, Miss Amy	Glade Valley, North Carolina
Ronald, Gordon	Coalgate, Oklahoma
Ross, Felix	Pryor, Oklahoma
Shafer, Mrs. Floy Y.	Nowata, Oklahoma
Shead, Dr. William L.	Norman, Oklahoma

Taylor, Gene	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Teehee, John	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Terry, Mrs. Ruby G.	Amarillo, Texas
Tinsley, Bill	Ada, Oklahoma
Townsend, John C.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Turrou, Lt. Col. E. A.	New York, New York
Vanderford, M. Dale	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Warne, Mrs. Dora Patrick	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Whiteside, Mrs. Margaret McPherren	Tampa, Florida
Woodard, Dr. C. E.	Drumright, Oklahoma
Workman, Mrs. Goldie	Wilburton, Oklahoma
Yaseck, Mrs. Benjamin M.	Bartlesville, Oklahoma

Just Off The Press

CUMULATIVE INDEX

TO

The Chronicles of Oklahoma

From 1921 to 1959

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Cover: The front cover print shows The University of Oklahoma and immediate grounds in 1896. This building was completed at Norman in 1893, the handsomest and best planned of any public institution in Oklahoma Territory.

DAVID ROSS BOYD: PIONEER EDUCATOR

By Edward Everett Dale

David Ross Boyd was born on a farm near Coshocton, Ohio, July 31, 1853. He was the oldest of a family of ten children. Of these ten, five boys were of his father's first marriage and three boys and two girls were born of the father's second marriage.

This father was James Boyd, born in 1820 on the headwaters of Antietarn Creek while his parents were migrating west from Pennsylvania to Ohio. David's mother was Mary Ann Ross, whose family lived not far from Coshocton in the adjoining county of Holmes. Mary Ann was a school teacher before she was married and James Boyd had also taught school for a time. In fact the Rosses were largely a family of teachers and everyone of the ten Boyd children eventually taught school.

James Boyd was an abolitionist in a day and region that commonly regarded abolitionists as little better than anarchists because they were said to believe in abolishing the sacred right to own propertly since they urged freeing the slaves.

Boyd not only believed in freedom for the slaves but his home was a station on the Underground Railway and he took an active part in the work of helping slaves fleeing north to reach safety in Canada.

In addition to being a farmer, James Boyd was also a Justice of the Peace in his community. Upon one occasion the operator of the next station to the south unexpectedly brought a group of slaves to the Boyd home the night before the young magistrate had to hold court to try several important cases. The Negroes were concealed in a large attic room and told to keep very quiet, which they did, while court was carried on in the room below. The session continued all afternoon and until dark but no one suspected the presence of the Negroes in the room above. Even the baby in the little group did not cry!

The next station on the underground railway was about twenty miles farther north and James Boyd would take groups of Negroes to it in a closed carriage which would hold seven or eight persons. He would start long after dark and would often take David with him on these trips for company on the long drive home after his human cargo had been delivered. David had vivid memories of

THE FIVE BOYD BROTHERS

hearing the Negroes sing the old plantation songs as they jogged along in the darkness toward Canada and freedom. Often his father would have to warn them to sing very softly or in some cases to be quiet when they were passing a house.

The penalty for helping a slave to escape was great and James Boyd fully expected that eventually the officials charged with enforcing the fugitive slave laws would discover his activities, but they never did. On one occasion when an elderly neighbor was spending a night with the Boyds, James took him into the attic room and showed him the pitiful, cowering figures of some Negroes that he was taking north later that night. The neighbor, who was a kind-hearted man, was moved to tears by the pathetic sight but told his host never to show him escaping Negroes again.

"If you do James," he said earnestly as he sought to wipe away his tears, "I shall feel it my duty to report you."

The Presidential campaign of 1860 was very exciting to the people of Coshocton which at this time had a population of about three thousand. There were many political rallies and torch light processions. Probably the election of Lincoln pleased most voters of the community. At any rate a huge crowd had gathered at the railway station when President-elect Lincoln passed through Coshocton on his way to Washington. James Boyd took David behind him on the old farm-horse, "Rock." When the train stopped, Lincoln came out wearing a tall hat and with a shawl about his shoulders. After he had made a short speech many persons crowded up to shake his hand. James Boyd lifted his little son up to shake hands with Lincoln who said: "God bless you my boy."

David's schooling was begun at home by his mother who taught him to read by showing him words and teaching him to recognize them. As a result when he started to school he was placed in the second reader.

On the morning of his first day at school his mother dressed him neatly and packed his lunch. She then led him to her room and knelt with him beside her bed while she said a brief prayer asking that at school he should be a good and obedient boy, as he had always been at home, shun evil companions, and try earnestly to learn all that he could.

This first school which David attended was at Reamer's schoolhouse not far from the Boyd home. The teacher, John Cox, was very able and held debating contests

in the little school house from time to time. He even organized the cast for a Shakespearian play which was given at the school building. David attended several sessions of this school although only the first two were taught by John Cox.

When David was eleven years old his mother died and a year or two later his father married Margaret B. Teaz. She was the widow of Captain Alexander Teaz who had been killed in the war leaving her with a little daughter about three years old named Alexandria. She was a beautiful child who was deeply loved by all of the five Boyd brothers.

Near the Boyd home lived Reverend William Hudson, a Methodist minister who was a graduate of Cambridge, England. James Boyd consulted him as to David's education and was advised that the lad should be taught Latin. Accordingly David went to Hudson's home three times a week for Latin lessons. He did this for several summers, Hudson taking his pay at times in money, but often in butter, eggs, pork, or other farm products.

Young Boyd attended country schools until he was sixteen. He then spent a few months at a school called "One Study University" operated by an eccentric individual who had students work on one subject at a time. When he had made sufficient progress in this he dropped it and started on another.

At seventeen Boyd secured a teacher's certificate and taught a rural school called Mount Dispute. His salary was $40.00 a month and when the term ended he had saved a little money. His teaching experience made him eager to secure more education so he entered the Lebanon Normal University.

He soon realized that the standards of this school were low so before the end of the year he withdrew and returned home determined to enter a real college. Another year was spent teaching a rural school in which he had a number of older boys and girls who were very intelligent and eager to learn.

When this school ended in the spring of 1873, young Boyd had fully made up his mind to go to college that fall if possible. His savings amounted to a hundred and fifty dollars which he knew would not go far toward paying for a college education. His father could not help him with money but owned a two hundred and fifty-six acre farm. He now offered to give David the use of forty acres of farm land rent-free. Moreover, he could live at

home without cost, use his father's teams and tools, and the proceeds from the crop should be David's for a college education.

This offer the lad gladly accepted. The land had been cleared of timber some years earlier and had been used as sheep range so the soil was very rich. There were still some stumps and many logs on it but David had a "log rolling" and kindly neighbors, eager to help an ambitious boy, came to help roll and burn the logs and get out the stumps. The lad then planted the field in corn. He made a wonderful crop which he sold for seven hundred dollars and in the autumn of 1873 entered Wooster University, now Wooster College.

This was a college of very high standards which had been founded by a Presbyterian group with the idea of making it a "western Princeton." It had been endowed by J. H. Kanke, who gave it forty acres of land and paid for the erection of the first building. Other wealthy Presbyterians endowed professorships. The faculty included a number of Princeton men who held endowed chairs.

At this time Wooster University had about three hundred students, many of whom were studying for the ministry in the Presbyterian Church. Young Boyd had always planned to be a lawyer but knew that he must first get a college education and earn some money.

Although only twenty years old Boyd had taught two terms of school when he entered Wooster. He found that he must spend one and probably two years in the Preparatory Department because two years of Greek were required to enter the Freshman Class. He had an excellent knowledge of Latin, however, and Professor Black, who taught Greek, told him to get "ponies" and study very hard. As a result he made two years of Greek in one and in September, 1874, was admitted to the Freshman Class.

All Freshmen and Sophomores were required to take the same courses but at the beginning of the Junior year a student chose one of three fields of study—Classical, Philosophical, or Scientific. Boyd chose the philosophical which did not require Hebrew and allowed the substitution of modern languages for some of the classical studies. David took three years of German, receiving special permission to take the first while a sophomore.

When Boyd entered Wooster there were no athletics and no outside activities except two literary societies. Students roomed in private homes and ate at boarding houses. Four fraternities were established and he became

a Beta Theta Pi. Fraternities had no chapter houses and membership was regarded as a great honor since the first qualification was high scholarship. Later, fraternities were abolished at Wooster. Chapel was held daily and all students were required to attend although most of them would have come voluntarily. Except attendance at Chapel there were virtually no rules and apparently no disciplinary problems.

During his stay at Wooster Boyd taught first year Latin as a student assistant and also worked in the library. In addition he taught a summer term of school at Dublin. It was a tough school where the big boys had chased two or three teachers away. Boyd soon tamed the wild gang and in a week had them joining in the Lord's Prayer and helping with the devotional exercises at daily chapel. Even though able to earn enough to pay part of his expenses he owed seven or eight hundred dollars when he graduated in 1878 and sorely needed a job.

He was very fortunate. One of the thirty-two members of the graduating class was Ella Alexander whose father was president of the Board of Trustees of the Van Wert, Ohio School. She told her father about young Boyd and he was chosen principal of the high school at a salary which seemed excellent. He served in this capacity for only one year when, upon the resignation of the superintendent, he was made superintendent of the Van Wert schools and remained in that position for nine years or until 1888.

Van Wert was a factory town in an area of fertile farm lands and Boyd found life there most interesting. For over two years the young bachelor lived in a boarding house but in 1882 married Jennie Thompson of his old home community who had gone to school at Lake Erie Seminary in Painesville. The young couple lived in a rented house for a year but the second year bought a home in the best residential part of town. Here they lived very happily among kindly neighbors and here was born their only child, the lovely baby daughter, Alice.

In 1888 Boyd decided to resign his position and seek something better in the West. He had been superintendent of the Van Wert schools for nine years and no doubt could have continued in that capacity indefinitely. He felt, however, that he had no future there because Van Wert was not a large town and there seemed little prospect that it would grow much in the future. Moreover, he had never expected to be a teacher, but had wanted to study law.

One of Boyd's close friends in Van Wert was John Van Lieu who was a railroad agent. In 1888 Van Lieu made up his mind to quit railroading and go to the West to enter the real estate business. He had close friends in Salt Lake City, Utah, who assured him that he could do well there. He asked Boyd to go with him and be his partner.

As Superintendent Boyd had already definitely decided to leave Van Wert, he resigned at the end of the term and soon after the first of June, 1888, took his family to Winfield, Kansas to visit Mrs. Boyd's sister there. Van Lieu had already gone to Salt Lake City and, after a brief stay with Mrs. Boyd's sister, Boyd joined him there leaving his wife and little Alice to continue their visit.

The two partners were very successful in their real estate business, at least from a financial standpoint. They bought options on real estate and then sold the property to eager buyers. Within two months Boyd's share of the profits amounted to about four thousand dollars. This trial of the business, however, convinced him that he did not like it. Perhaps he had taught school so long that he could not be happy in *any* other type of work. At any rate in a couple of months he sold his interest in the firm to Van Lieu and returned to Winfield.

Here he was offered the superintendency of the Arkansas City schools, partly because of the influence of Frank Hoffman, a prominent real estate man of that town who had formerly lived at Van Wert. The salary of fifteen hundred dollars a year seemed good to Boyd for he had been paid considerably less at Van Wert. He accordingly accepted the position, and rented a house in Arkansas City into which he moved with his family.

Arkansas City at this time was a railroad town of about ten thousand people. There were no school buildings to amount to anything. The streets were ungraded sandy roads, and there were no trees or anything else to make the town an attractive place to live. Ditches were undrained and mosquitoes were thick everywhere. Boyd and Alice both fell ill with malaria which was very prevalent and neither fully recovered for two or three weeks.

Boyd brought Emerson Miller from Van Wert to be his high school principal. For this first year, school was held in empty warehouses or almost any place where space could be found. The president of the school board was L. E. Woodin, a former Indian Agent, who had removed the Ponca and Otoe and Missouri tribes to re-

servations in the Cherokee Outlet. He joined with Boyd in promoting a building program by persuading the people to vote bonds for new school buildings. As a result native stone was brought across the Indian Territory line to construct a beautiful high school building.

By the winter of 1888-89, it was clear that the Unassigned Lands, to which Carpenter, Payne, and Couch had led the Boomers in vain attempts to take homesteads, some years earlier, would soon be opened for settlement. In anticipation of this several thousand homeseekers had assembled at Arkansas City and encamped near the mouth of Walnut Creek close to the edge of town awaiting this opening. Most of them were very poor and the citizens of Arkansas City feared that hunger and cold would eventually cause some of them to engage in petty stealing.

Poor as most these campers were, virtually every family had a team of small horses or mules. The camp had been laid out in orderly fashion with streets and alleys and a provisional government established, with a mayor and police officers elected to preserve order and enforce rules with respect to sanitation. These police officers were given constable's commissions by the state.

The streets of Arkansas City were in such wretched condition that Boyd and a few of the leading business men conceived the idea of utilizing the men of this huge camp as cheap labor to improve the town. A meeting of the citizens was held and the plan was approved and Boyd chosen as supervisor of the work to be done. Funds were raised by donations of the townspeople and the men of the camp gladly accepted the offer of $1.50 a day for a man and team to do this work. While such wages seem ridiculously low it must be noted that these men were idle and also at this time beef could be bought for six or seven cents a pound, flour for $1.50 a hundred pounds, and a good farm hand could be hired for $15.00 a month plus his board.

The next few months were the busiest ones of Boyd's life. He had to be out every morning at seven o'clock to check his workmen, assign their duties, and get them started to work at grading the streets and school grounds, setting out trees which he had bought from the nearby Winfield nursery, and either draining or filling ditches. This work had a two-fold value. It provided employment for the idle men at the camp and greatly improved the appearance of the little town.

No doubt it was a relief to Boyd when President Harrison on March 23, issued a proclamation stating that

the Unassigned Lands would be opened to settlement, under the homestead laws of the United States, at high noon, April 22, 1889. The would-be homesteaders encamped near Arkansas City could continue working for about three weeks, however, for they had to cross the Cherokee Outlet, over fifty miles in width, to reach the northern border of these lands. The President had issued a special order that they could not do this until three days before the opening on April 22nd.

While he was in Arkansas City Boyd was an Elder of the Presbyterian Church and was deeply interested in its work. He was also a member of the county board of education which gave examinations to applicants for teachers certificates. The other members were the County Superintendent of Schools and the Probate Judge.

Upon one occasion an elderly Civil War veteran came to see Boyd. His name was A. R. Pentecost, and he and his wife lived in a tent near the edge of town. He said that he had been offered a little country school if he could get a teacher's certificate but it had been several years since he had taught and he was afraid that he could not pass the examination. Boyd encouraged him to try and the examination papers in certain subjects were graded by each member of the board. Boyd and the Probate Judge decided that he had passed in the subjects that they had graded, but the county superintendent, an able but hardboiled Irish woman, said he had failed in one of her subjects and refused to sign his certificate. The Judge and Boyd constituted a majority of the board, however, so they issued the certificate to the great joy of the applicant and Boyd took him home to supper.

In addition to erecting a beautiful high school at Arkansas City, Boyd rebuilt or improved the other school buildings and installed in all of them the Isaac D. Smead system of heating. During his four years as superintendent of schools at Arkansas City, Boyd became well acquainted with most of the Kansas leaders in the field of education. Among them was Superintendent R. W. Stevenson of the Wichita schools who was about ready to retire and wanted Boyd to be his successor. He also knew well Chancellor Snow of Kansas University who urged him to become a candidate for the office of State Superintendent of Schools.

He worked hard but took some time for recreation which included hunting prairie chickens with young Woodin, son of the chairman of the school board. Upon one occasion three prominent business men asked him to

go with them on a hunting trip in the Cherokee Outlet. Its boundary is only two or three miles south of Arkansas City but they were going twenty miles or more south of the border to a deserted cow camp in the wooded hills where there were said to be plenty of deer and wild turkeys.

It was a warm winter day when the four men started on their hunting expedition in a big wagon. They found the half-dugout camp neat and clean and there was a hay covered shed in the corral just back of it where they put the horses. The camp had a big fireplace so after they had cooked and eaten a good supper they went to bed to dream of a successful hunt the following day.

It was an idle dream. About midnight a terrific blizzard struck bringing snow, sleet, and bitter cold. They awoke to find the ground covered with ice and a howling north wind driving more sleet before it. Hunting was out of the question and would be for two or three days. This did not worry them for they had brought ample bedding, plenty of food for themselves, and grain and hay for the horses, and there was a big pile of wood just outside the door. Once they had a fire going in the big fireplace the room was warm and they were "snug as a bug in a rug."

There was nothing to do, however, except cook and eat their meals and care for the horses that were well sheltered under the shed. Fortunately perhaps, one of the men had brought two decks of cards and suggested a game of poker. Boyd protested that he did not know how to play but the other three said that they would teach him and were sure that he would soon "get the hang of it," so with some reluctance he sat down at the battered old table and was dealt a hand.

After a few hands had been played one man suggested that it would add zest to the game to play for modest stakes in money and the Presbyterian Elder offered no objection when the other two men agreed to the suggestion. Until the weather improved enough for them to return home they played poker every day. Either his friends had taught Boyd too well or he had beginner's luck. He soon won all the money that his opponents had and they began to give him checks. When they were ready to start home the man who had suggested playing for money called Boyd aside.

"Professor," he said earnestly, "Of course we were just playing for fun and expect you to give the money and checks back to us now that we've finally quit playing."

"Oh no, I can't do that," replied Boyd who knew that nothing would have been given back if his opponents had won, "I've won this money fair and square and am keeping it."

When they got back to Arkansas City Boyd arranged for a sumptuous dinner at the best hotel in town with oysters, roast turkey, baked ham, and every delicacy that could be obtained. To this he invited his three hunting companions and their wives and asked each of them to bring two couples as his guests. In addition he invited some of his and Mrs. Boyd's closest friends. The long table was banked with flowers and the hotel owner had provided the most beautiful linen and silver. At the conclusion of the dinner Boyd arose and in a brief speech explained to his guests just who was paying for it

Obviously, three days before opening of the Unassigned Lands on April 22, 1889, all of the homeseekers encamped near Arkansas City left for the border of that country and Boyd's work as supervisor of laborers came to an end. Hundreds of others from southern Kansas and other states rushed to this opening and such towns as Guthrie, Oklahoma City, Kingfisher, Stillwater, and Norman sprang up over night. Until the passage of the Organic Act in May, 1880, the people of this area, often called the "Oklahoma Lands," had only such provisional government as they organized for themselves until May, 2, 1890.

Then an act of Congress created Oklahoma Territory consisting of the six counties opened to settlement in April, 1889, and the Panhandle, formerly called "No Man's Land" because it lay outside the limits of any state or territory. The act further provided that the new territory should have a governor, secretary, and supreme court judges. All of the officials were appointed by the President but a legislature, consisting of an upper house of thirteen and a lower house of twenty-six members, was to be elected by the voters of the territory. Finally, all Indian reservations west of the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes, except the Cherokee Outlet, were to become a part of Oklahoma Territory when opened to settlement.

The First Legislature provided for the establishment of a university, an A. and M. college, and a normal school. Superintendent Boyd was fairly familiar with conditions in the new territory for many persons were continually passing through Arkansas City going to that territory or returning from it. In the winter of 1891-92, a committee from the Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma, which as yet existed only on paper, came to

Arkansas City. They were planning a building and wanted to see the Smead Heating System that Boyd had installed in the school buildings. Boyd became well acquainted with these men and when they asked if he knew of a man that he could recommend for the presidency of the university, suggested that either Stevenson of Wichita or J. W. Knott of Tiffin, Ohio, would be a good choice.

Boyd was a trustee of the Winfield Chautauqua Assembly and a few weeks after the Oklahoma Regents, visit the Santa Fe Railroad officials offered him free transportation to Guthrie and Oklahoma City to advertise the Chautauqua and its work. He spent two or three days in Guthrie and then went on to Oklahoma City. Here he happened to meet the sales representative of the Smead Heating Company who told him that the University Regents were meeting in Oklahoma City that day to consider various matters including the choice of a heating plant for their projected building. He had an appointment with them and urged Boyd to accompany him and tell them more about the success of this heating system in the Arkansas City schools.

The Regents were staying at the Grand Avenue Hotel. They readily agreed to let the Smead representative bring Boyd with him to their meeting which was to be held at 2:00 p.m. in the office of their secretary, L. G. Pitman, at the corner of Main and Broadway. Boyd and the Smead salesman appeared at that time and sat down in the outer office to wait until the Regents, who were meeting in the inner office, got around to the matter of the heating plant.

The walls between the two offices were very thin so they could hear everything that went on in the Regents' meeting. They heard the chairman call the meeting to order, the minutes of the previous meeting read, and other preliminary business transacted. The chairman then asked: "Is the committee on the choice of a president ready to report?"

Boyd listened intently for he wondered if the committee would recommend Stevenson, Knott, or someone else. He was nearly floored by the reply of the committee chairman:

"Yes, Mr. President we have investigated throughly and have decided upon a man. We could find, among dozens of men we have consulted, only one who could say anything against him and his antagonism is purely personal. Mr. Chairman we recommend for appointment as president of the University of Oklahoma, David Ross Boyd of Arkansas City."

Boyd was shocked by this statement, for he had not the least idea that he was being considered for this position. The Regents promptly approved the report of the committee and then called Boyd in and notified him of his appointment. They all shook hands with him and one of them said:

"Superintendent Boyd, you do not remember me, but I shall never forget *you*. I am A. R. Pentecost, the man to whom you granted a teacher's certificate at Arkansas City some years ago."

Pentecost was well dressed and did not look at all like the shabby individual to whom Boyd and the probate judge had issued a teacher's certificate three or four years before, in spite of the objections of the county superintendent of schools.

Boyd's first impulse was to refuse the offer at once for by this time he knew that the superintendency of the Wichita schools was his if he wanted it. This was the best public school position in the state but he had not yet quite made up his mind as to whether he should accept it or run for the office of state superintendent of schools. So at the earnest request of the Board of Regents he said that he would consider their offer and give them his decision as soon as possible.

Upon his return to Kansas he went to Winfield to attend a Chautauqua Assembly. Here he saw his good friend Professor Canfield of Kansas University and jokingly told him of his offer, adding that he had no intention of accepting it. Naturally he was surprised by Canfield's reply.

"This is no joke, Boyd. Oklahoma Territory will be a state before many years have passed and this will be the state university and no state university has ever failed. It is a far better position for you than either to be head of the Wichita schools or superintendent of schools of Kansas. Don't hesitate a minute. Take it."

Canfield's words impressed Boyd a geat deal so he wrote to the Board of Regents opening negotiations as to salary and other matters. Finally an agreement was reached that he would accept the presidency for a salary of $2,400 a year. He would be paid in warrants, of course, and these would have to be discounted while the salary of $2,400 offered him at Wichita would be in cash.

Having accepted the position Boyd closed up his affairs in Arkansas City and started for Norman which he reached on August 6, 1892. He had never been in Norman before but had visited Guthrie and knew about what to expect.

Norman was a small town on the prairie with hardly a tree in sight. He stayed at the Agnes Hotel and began to look over the situation and to get acquainted with various people. Housing was a problem but he rented a room from Mr. Hoover on West Gray Street and early in September was joined by Mrs. Boyd and the little daughter, Alice. They lived in this room and boarded with the Hoovers until nearly Christmas when they removed to the home of Charlie Dibble and his mother on East Comanche. They still boarded but soon started building their own home on University Boulevard.

Before leaving Arkansas City, Boyd had employed W. N. Rice, one of the teachers in the college at Winfield, who was to teach Latin and Greek. Through the Albert Teacher's Agency he secured Edwin DeBarr to teach sciences, and French Amos was hired upon recomendation of Pitman, Secretary of the Board of Regents. He was to teach English, history, and government. He was quite young but had taught four years at Centenary College at Lampasas, Texas from which he had received both the bachelor's and master's degrees. He was given the rank of instructor and a salary of $900.00 a year while Rice and DeBarr, as professors, received a yearly salary of $1,500.-00.

These three men reached Norman around the first of September and Boyd called a faculty meeting at an old stone building on West Main Street which had been rented for $20.00 a month. It was in its shade that the president and his faculty of three ate a watermelon which Boyd had bought from a passing farm wagon, after they had finished their discussion of university affairs.

All classes were held in this building during this first year as the construction of the new building was interrupted by lack of funds. Not until August, 1893, was it completed at a total cost of $32,000 and turned over to the Board of Regents.

President Boyd had attended a college which required daily attendance at chapel and so made daily chapel a feature at the University of Oklahoma but without making attendance compulsory. It was held at ten each morning during his entire term as president and he estimated that seventy to eighty percent of the students and faculty always attended. The services were brief, consisting of singing a couple of hymns, a Scripture reading, prayer, and a three minute talk by President Boyd in which he sought to bring out only one point. He worked hard on these brief talks and from one of them, on the parable of the sower, came the idea for the seal of the University.

DAVID ROSS BOYD

First President, The University of Oklahoma

Although President Boyd became very popular with the people of Norman there is evidence that for the first year or so at least a few persons were a bit suspicious of this Kansas Yankee. The state of Kansas admitted Negroes to its public schools and while at Arkansas City Boyd had in the high school a brilliant young Negro student who was especially good in mathematics. He was having a hard time staying in school and in March of his senior year was completely out of funds, and was ready to withdraw. When Boyd learned this he made the lad a loan of a hundred dollars so that he might stay in school and graduate.

Soon after the university opened this young man came to Norman to pay this loan. President Boyd had gone to Guthrie and Mrs. Boyd was not at home so he inquired of several persons in town as to where he might find either of them. Immediately some of the townspeople jumped to the conclusion that this young Negro had come to enter the University which, under the laws of Oklahoma Territory, he had a right to do. One group became greatly excited and burned Boyd in effigy that night.

Learning that the president was in Guthrie, the young chap took the night train to that city and was waiting in the hotel lobby when Boyd came down to breakfast. Boyd received the hundred dollars but refused to take any interest. He asked about the young man's further plans and urged him to continue his schooling if possible. When the lad said that he had no money, Boyd telegraphed his Ohio friend, William R. Harper, who had become President of the University of Chicago in 1891, asking if he could give this ambitious Negro student a job. Harper wired back to send him on as they had a job for him, so Boyd returned the hundred dollars and put the young man on a train for Chicago where he eventually took a Ph.D. degree and became a member of the faculty of Booker T. Washington's school at Tuskegee.

In the spring of 1893, President Boyd began to plant trees about the University grounds and along University Boulevard. These trees were bought from a Winfield, Kansas nursery. In the autumn of 1893, he bought a large stock of trees from this Winfield nursery, that was going out of business, and established a nursery of some five acres southwest of the University building. He then gave out trees to residents of the town who were willing to plant and care for them under a contract that they must pay for every one that died while those that lived were free. One citizen of Norman began to circulate a petition to the Regents to fire Boyd for wasting University

money by buying trees. He got a good many signatures before it was discovered that Boyd had used his own money in buying the trees instead of University funds.

When Boyd was chosen as President of the University of Oklahoma, he began to study the resources of other state universities and found that many of them had been given grants of land from the public domain by the United States Government. Although in previous openings of Oklahoma lands to settlement sections 16 and 36 in every township had been set aside for the benefit of public schools, the University had no land except its campus.

The opening of the Cherokee Outlet was pending and in fact it was opened on September 16, 1893. No doubt the precedent of reserving sections 16 and 36 in each township for public schools would be followed but President Boyd felt that additional land should be reserved for the benefit of higher education. Clearly this would be bitterly opposed by many people of Oklahoma, Kansas, and other adjoining states as it would reduce the number of homesteads available to settlers.

Boyd talked the matter over with his Board of Regents and a few other men deeply interested in higher education, and it was decided that Boyd should go to Washington to present their views to the Secretary of the Interior, and the President. What they all had in mind was to urge the President to reserve section 13 for higher education and section 33 for public buildings in his proclamation opening the Outlet to settlement. It was hoped that if this were done with respect to the Outlet, it might also be done in every subsequent opening.

The Secretary of the Interior was Hoke Smith of Atlanta, Georgia, and had formerly been Chairman of the School Board of that city. Boyd had some difficulty in getting in to see him for Cleveland had been inaugurated as President on March 4, and Washington was over-flowing with office seekers now that the Democrats were back in power after four years of the Republican, Benjamin Harrison, in the White House.

Boyd had explained to the guardian at the door that he was not seeking an office but wanted to see Secretary Smith on another matter. He then sat down to wait. Just before quitting for the day the Secretary said: "Let's see that fellow that doesn't want a job."

Boyd went in and stated his proposition. The Secretary, because of his long service on the Atlanta

School Board, was greatly interested in education and listened intently. He then said: "If we do this, nobody must know about it until the President's proclamation has been issued. Otherwise, there will be enormous pressure put upon him not to do it."

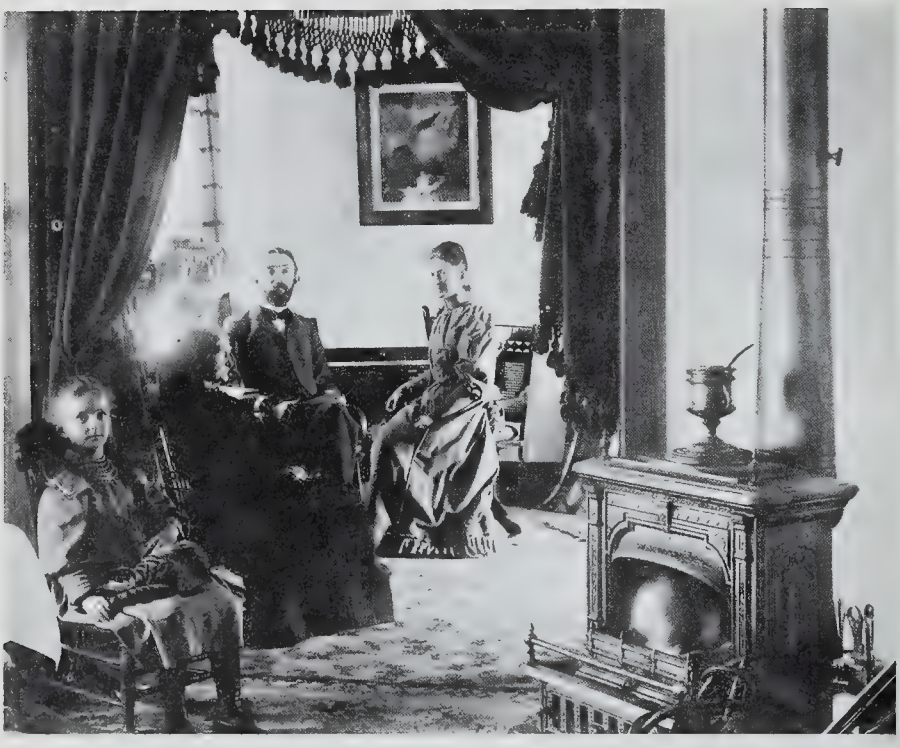
The Secretary took Boyd to the White House the following day, introduced him to the President, and made an appointment for Boyd to return later and present the matter to President Cleveland in some detail. At this second meeting the President did not commit himself but once he had made up his mind, sent for Boyd and Dennis Flynn, Oklahoma's delegate to Congress, and told them that he would reserve section 13 for higher education and 33 for public buildings.

The bill for opening the Outlet to settlement provided that sections 16 and 36 in each township should be reserved for the benefit of the public schools, the salt plains should also be reserved, and *such other lands* as the President in his wisdom decided to *reserve*. The last phrase was the joker in the bill. The President's proclamation issued August 19th, 1893, reserved section 13 in every township of the Outlet opening "for the university, A. and M. college, and 'normal' school purposes" and section 33 for public buildings.

This action was precedent for future openings of Indian reservations to settlement, especially that of the great Kiowa-Comanche-Wichita-Caddo reservation opened by a lottery in 1901. It created a large landed estate for higher education in Oklahoma as well as one for public buildings. Later the discovery of oil and gas on some of these lands greatly increased their value.

During the first years of Boyd's administration he traveled a great deal over the newly settled areas of Oklahoma Territory, making speeches in the towns and rural school houses telling his audiences about the University. When the Greer County case was settled in 1896 and that huge region was made a part of Oklahoma, Boyd went out there on a speaking tour.

To reach it he had to take a Santa Fe train to Fort Worth where he could get a Fort Worth and Denver train to Quanah, Texas which is only a few miles from the southwest corner of Greer County. He was met at Quanah by K. C. Cox, that county's Superintendent of Schools. Cox had a buckboard and pony team and in this buckboard (named by some genius for words) the two men traveled over a county ninety miles long and some seventy



IN THE DR. DAVID R. BOYD HOME AT NORMAN

FIRST HOME BUILT BY DR. BOYD IN NORMAN, 1893

miles wide. They made contact with every school district in this huge area and talked with members of its board of directors. Every evening they had a meeting at some centrally located rural school where people from three or four districts would come to hear Boyd speak about the University.

Late in their tour they came to the two-room school I was attending at Navajoe where Boyd made a speech to an audience that filled the larger room to overflowing. He told us much about the University and especially about his "Push Class" that he taught himself. It was a group of young persons who had never had the opportunity for much schooling but were eager to get more education. Most of them were seventeen to twenty years old. Boyd said that four young fellows in that class had rented a little house and were baching. They had asked him to have dinner with them the following Sunday so he had to be back in Norman by that time.

There were half a dozen or so of us in our late 'teens attending the Navajoe school who were deeply impressed by this speech. We talked about it for weeks and dreamed of going to the University. True, none of us had graduated from the eighth grade yet but what of that? When one eighteen year old lad had asked how much schooling he must have to enter the "Push Class," President Boyd had replied, "If you want to come to the University and enter that class I'll teach you to read and write if necessary."

While he never had to teach anyone to read and write many came into this class who had only the beginnings of education. They studied various subjects but English and mathematics were most popular. Boyd's chief object was to get them started, lay the foundations of an education, and inspire, as well as teach them how, to proceed by themselves. Few of them stayed for any fixed term but dropped out when they were offered a job. Years later when Boyd met former members of this class they always greeted him cordially and expressed their gratitude for what he had done for them.

During Boyd's tenure as president three large areas were added to Oklahoma Territory. These were the Cherokee Outlet, Greer County, and the Kiowa-Comanche-Wichita-Caddo areas. In his travels over these and other parts of the territory he was often the guest of some homesteader. He slept in dugouts, half dugouts, sod houses, log cabins, and small box houses. Lacking fresh meat these settlers served him fried chicken until it almost made him

sick to see a hen! Yet the hospitality extended to him was boundless.

In 1895, Chancellor Fulton, of the University of Mississippi wrote a letter to state and territorial university presidents urging that they form an organization. As a result, when the N.E.A. met in Denver that year Boyd and Fulton called a meeting of all the state university presidents there and the preliminary organization of the Association of State University Presidents was formed. Fulton was made president and Boyd temporary secretary. He was urged to be permanent secretary but refused because he did not have enough office staff to carry on the work. He helped the Secretary, however, as much as possible and attended every meeting of the Association for nineteen years.

For fourteen of the sixteen years that Boyd was President of the University he was also President of the Territorial Board of Education which provided the questions for the quarterly examinations for county teachers certificates. This board also prepared the questions for students seeking graduation from the eighth grade. Each board member made up the questions in two or three subjects and sent them to the Territorial Superintendent of Schools who forwarded them to the county superintendent of each county. He and his board gave the examinations for teacher's certificates.

The County Superintendent of Schools sent the questions for the eighth grade examinations to the principal of any school in his county that had any candidates for graduation from the eighth grade. Those who passed successfully were issued a diploma signed by the Territorial Superintendent of Schools, the President of the Territorial Board of Education, the County Superintendent, the President of the District School Board, and the principal or superintendent of the school which the student attended.

Mine is before me as this is written. It measures about eighteen by fourteen inches, bears the picture of all the Territorial institutions of higher learning in Oklahoma at that time — the University, A. and M. College, and Central Normal, plus one of a typical rural school. It is signed by David R. Boyd as President of the Board of Education, S. N. Hopkins, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the three lesser lights, and is more imposing in appearance than either my A.M. or Ph.D. diploma from Harvard!

Obviously, it would not be possible to give in detail

the history of the University of Oklahoma from September, 1892 to July, 1908, when Dr. Boyd served as its president. Perhaps it is enough to state that during this period of sixteen years the enrollment rose from about sixty to nearly eight hundred. The faculty of four the first year shows a proportional increase. All students were in the Preparatory School when the University first opened its doors while in June, 1908, forty-five degrees were conferred. During his administration President Boyd conferred a total of 200 degrees. It is interesting to note that in 1900 his *alma mater*, Wooster University awarded him an honorary Ph.D. degree.

President Boyd and his wife thoroughly enjoyed their sixteen years in Norman although they were both very busy. Norman hotel facilities were poor during these years so they had to entertain in their home most of the distinguished visitors who came to the University. This alone would have kept Mrs. Boyd busy, but she also taught a Sunday school class and had many social engagements. Sometimes it was difficult to get help so Mrs. Boyd was forced to do most of the cooking, cleaning, and other housework herself although student girls would gladly volunteer their services at large receptions or dinners.

In addition to administering the affairs of the University, Dr. Boyd had his duties as President of the Board of Education. In addition he must keep in touch with the Territorial governors and legislators. This demanded many trips to Guthrie, the capital of the Territory.

On one occasion when he was in Guthrie, Clem V. Rogers came to the hotel to see him. "Uncle Clem," as he was commonly called, said: "Dr. Boyd, none of my children have have caused me any worry except that boy, Will. I'm afraid he is never goin' to amount to anything. All he wants to do is to ride a pony, swing a rope, and run around. He don't seem to care about education for I've put him in school many times but he never stays long and now he's a grown man. If you can help me do something for him, I'd sure appreciate it." Boyd urged Uncle Clem to send him to Norman to enter the Push Class but Will would never come.

A. J. Seay was Territorial Governor of Oklahoma when the University first opened its doors to students in September, 1892. He was a Republican but with the return of Grover Cleveland to the Presidency in March, 1893, W. C. Renfrow, a Norman banker, was appointed governor. He was a Democrat of course, and leading Democrats urged him to fire Boyd and appoint a good Demo-

DR. BOYD, PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, IN HIS OFFICE

PROGRESS OF MAIN BUILDING, UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA AT THE TIME OF THE FIRE IN APRIL, 1903

crat as President of the University. As a resident of Norman, Renfrow knew Boyd quite well and had been impressed by his work. As a result he steadfastly resisted all such pressure.

The later Territorial governors Barnes, Jenkins, Ferguson, and Frantz were all Republicans. Dr. Boyd's relations with all of them were always pleasant. He was also a good friend of Dennis Flynn who served so long as delegate to Congress and of his successor, Bird S. McGuire. Because Oklahoma was a Territory much business had to be transacted in Washington. Both Flynn and McGuire were most helpful to Boyd when business took him to that city. On these trips he also became quite friendly with Hoke Smith, Secretary of the Interior.

The approval of the Enabling Act by President Theodore Roosevelt on March 6, 1906, was the definite step toward statehood. When the Constitutional Convention met at Guthrie on November 20, 1906, it was quickly organized and committees appointed to deal with various phases of the Constitution for the future state. During the entire life of the Convention the Committee on Education frequently called upon President Boyd for advice or help. This made it necessary for him to make many trips to Guthrie.

When the Constitution was at last completed, nominations for all state and county officers were made. Governor Frantz on July 24, 1907, fixed September 17, as the date to vote upon the ratification of the Constitution and the election of these officers.

It was ratified by an overwhelming majority and Charles N. Haskell, the Democratic party's nominee, was elected governor. In fact, all the Democratic candidates for state offices were elected. November 16, was the date set for the new government to go into operation. On that date Governor Haskell and all other state officials took the oath of office and the Twin Territories became the State of Oklahoma.

President Boyd and many members of the University faculty were in some doubt as to what might happen to them with the coming of statehood and the accession of of Governor Haskell. During territorial days politics had not interfered with the University to any appreciable extent. Some pressure had been put upon Governor Renfrow to remove Boyd and appoint some good Decrat in his place but Renfrow had been appointed governor by President Cleveland so had no political debts to pay or voters to please and had steadfastly refused.

Haskell had only a common school education but had read law at night and was admitted to the bar when only twenty years of age. He had practiced law in his native state of Ohio for six years but had then entered business and had been a railway promoter and builder both in Ohio and Oklahoma. Obviously, he knew little or nothing about higher education. The pressure on him to make positions in the state schools polictical spoils was so strong that in the spring of 1908, he dismissed Boyd and a number of the faculty members and replaced them with political friends.

The exact number is not quite clear. Boyd said twenty-three including himself and gave the names of nineteen of these. Gittinger, in his history of the University gives a smaller number so it is possible that Boyd might have included at least two or three who resigned because they knew that they were to be dismissed. Among those fired were Professors V. L. Parrington and L. W. Cole. It has been said that Haskell's Board of Regents stated that Parrington was fired because he smoked cigarettes. This is probably a myth. During the seventeen years of Oklahoma as a Territory the Republican party had been in power in the nation except for the four years of the Cleveland administration. During the remaining thirteen years Oklahoma's governor, secretary, supreme court members, and the appointees of all these officials, had been Republicans. In addition the United States marshals, and all important postmasters, and most of their employees belonged to that party.

With the coming of statehood the Democratic candidates for office had campaigned under the slogan: "Oust the Carpetbaggers and Curb the Corporations." They had won an overwhelming victory and set to work to carry out their pledge. Boyd was a Republican from Ohio and Kansas. He had never asked an applicant for a job his politics or church membership, but his contacts were largely with educators in those states so he frequently employed teachers recommended by university presidents in these or other northern states. So it is doubtful if Haskell and his Regents felt it necessary to give a reason for ousting these Republican "Carpetbaggers" in the state schools.

Boyd having helped to organize the Association of State University Presidents had many close friends among them. To each member of the Association we wrote a letter giving full information as to the personal and academic history of every faculty member that had been dismissed. He also strongly endorsed the employment of

any of these if the recipient of the letter had a vacancy or knew of one in any other college or university. As a result, every one of those fired that wanted a job had one when schools opened in September, and in some cases a better one than he had lost. Cole did not seek a position but went to Harvard for further study and from there to Colorado in the department of psychology. Parrington went to the University of Washington where he remained until his death in 1929.

Dr. Boyd never felt any bitterness about his removal. He always said that Governor Haskell did not realize at that time why academic positions, unlike other jobs in the public service, are not included in political patronage. The wholesale removal of faculty members caused an outcry that extended far beyond the limits of Oklahoma. Dr. Lyman Abbott, editor of the *Outlook*, published an article on this subject. Haskell was amazed by the furor created by the discharge of these university teachers. He said later that he deeply regretted his action and that this was perhaps the greatest mistake of his administration.

After doing his best to help the others find a new position, Boyd began to think of one for himself. Before he could make a move to find a new job, however, an offer came to him, quite unsought, that he was glad to accept. While he was at Van Wert there came to that little city, Edgar W. Work, a brilliant young minister fresh from the Lane Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Cincinnati. This was the young man's first pastorate but he organized the church in remarkable fashion. Boyd did all he cold to help the young pastor and the two men became close friends. In 1908, Dr. Work was pastor of a large church in New York City and was also a member of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. One branch of this was the so-called "Woman's Board."

The missionaries in the home field often found a great need for schools and better educational opportunities among the special groups of people with whom they were working. In some instances this need was acute among the Indians, Mexicans, remote settlers of Utah, the mountaineers of North Carolina, Tennessee, and the Ozarks, and in Puerto Rico, and Alaska. The Woman's Board felt that a superintendent of education should be appointed to look after such matters, establish schools, improve existing ones, etc. It was felt that the need was not for a minister but an educator of ample experience.

When Dr. Work learned that Boyd was out at the

University of Oklahoma he immediately said to the Board:

"Dr. Boyd is your man for superintendent of education. His long experience as a pioneer educator makes him ideally fitted for this place."

The position was offered him and he promptly accepted it. He went to New York where his headquarters were established at 156 Fifth Avenue. Mrs. Boyd remained in the house at Norman for a year and then joined him in New York. Dr. Boyd remained in this position for four years. He liked the work but it involved a great deal of travel — over 25,000 miles the first year. There was a crying need for schools among the Indians, the Mormons of Utah, the Mexican settlements of the Southwest, and the mountaineers of the South. The Woman's Board would send out teachers to establish mission schools. Boyd worked in Utah at first and developed a great repect for the Mormons because of their industry, piety, and loyalty to their church.

He next visited the mission schools among the Indians of New Mexico and Arizona. He also visited the United States Government schools in the various villages of the Pueblo Indians. He found officials of the Indian Service willing and eager to help him. He became a close friend of Reuben Perry of the large boarding school at Albuquerque, and paid a visit to the Navajoe country and to the Riverside Indian school called Sherman Institute. He gave many short talks to the Indian children in the schools, visited Indian homes, and often ate with his hosts.

Dr. Boyd also spent much time among the mountaineers of Kentucky, East Tennessee, and Western North Carolina. Here he found a proud people, many of whom were Scottish Presbyterians. They had few books but quoted freely from the Bible, or what they thought was the Bible, for their words were often only a garbled version of a Biblical passage. Uneducated or even illiterate as were many of these people, they were very intelligent. There were many Scotch-Presbyterians among these mountaineers and numerous Presbyterian schools. Boyd consolidated some of these and established ten or fifteen new ones.

Dr. Boyd found the work in these states most interesting. He was surprised to find how the old industries of spinning, weaving, basket making, and making soap had persisted so that some communities were almost entirely self-sufficient. There were few books but East Tennessee

had just begun to establish some traveling libraries. At meetings in this mountain country Boyd sought to teach people the Lord's Prayer and at women's meetings taught them the "Now I Lay Me Down To Sleep" prayer, for the sake of their children.

Apparently the ethics of the Presbyterian Church had been retained by these mountain people although the forms had been largely forgotten. In this they were like the Mormons whose children, long after they had left a Mormon community, would still refrain from the use of liquor, tobacco, or bad language. In a similar fashion these mountaineers clung to the eithics of the Presbyterians. They observed the Sabbath and the Ten Commandments even though doctrines and church forms were pretty well forgotten.

The leader of Presbyterian mission work in Alaska was S. Hall Young who was a fellow student, fraternity brother, and close friend of Boyd at Wooster. He initiated the bringing of reindeer to Alaska which was continued by Sheldon Jackson who came to Alaska much later. The Missionary Board was deeply interested in doing more for Alaska and Boyd raised funds for this work. He secured large contributions in Wheeling, West Virginia, and other towns in that area. Eventually, he secured $125,000 to build a school at Sitka which became the center for training missionaries for field work in Alaska.

Dr. Boyd never found time to visit Alaska but in the spring of 1910, he took Mrs. Boyd and Alice with him for a visit to Puerto Rico. They landed at San Juan where they were met by Tom B. Matthews, a former Oklahoman, who was manager of a tapioca plantation near that city. There was an excellent Presbyterian hospital at San Juan where Mrs. Boyd and Alice stayed for a time. The Boyds then crossed the island to Mayaquez. There were many Presbyterian schools and mission stations in Puerto Rico, some at San Juan, Mayaquez, Ponce, and various other towns. Mrs. Boyd and Alice stayed in town while Dr. Boyd went into the hill country farther east to organize some schools there.

The Boyds found everything on the island very strange. The houses were often on stilts, the animals, fruits, and vegetables very small, and the poverty of the people was appalling. A very definite caste system existed. When Boyd stopped to get his shoes shined the boy in charge of the stand called a second boy to call a third boy to do the work

At the Presbyterian Hospital in San Juan a group of native girls was being trained as nurses to go back to their home communities to work among their own people. Doctor Hildreth was the chief physician at this hospital. He had come to Puerto Rico to study tropical diseases and became almost famous. Patients were carried many miles on litters to receive treatment and others waited for hours in long lines until the doctor could see them.

While working among the Indians of New Mexico Dr. Boyd met a large number of the leading citizens of Albuquerque. He also found there Alonzo McMillan, a prominent lawyer who had graduated from the Van Wert high school when Boyd was superintendent of schools there. After his graduation, McMillan had studied law and had gone west to Albuquerque. He had been very successful and by 1912, was a man of wealth and influence.

At this time the University of New Mexico was in bad shape. It had gone through a great deal of trouble, the president had resigned, and the Regents were looking for another. They could not pay a large salary and McMillan told them about Boyd. They therefore wrote him, asking that he come to Albuquerque for an interview. Boyd liked the work he was doing but it involved so much travel that he had little home life with his family. Moreover, he loved the West and did not like to live in New York. He accordingly went out to New Mexico, looked over the situation, and finally accepted the Regents offer of the presidency of the university.

The Boyds went to Norman, where Mrs. Boyd and Alice remained for a few weeks to pack their furniture and charter a railroad car to ship their belongings to New Mexico. In the meantime, Dr. Boyd had gone on to Albuquerque to rent a house. The home in Norman was rented unfurnished to President Stratton D. Brooks, the new head of the University of Oklahoma.

The University of New Mexico was very small when Dr. Boyd became its president in September, 1912. It had only a little over two hundred students and some fifteen or sixteen faculty members. The buildings were in need of repair and it had a campus of only twenty acres. Moreover, land titles in New Mexico were shaky because of early Spanish grants. Boyd soon found that the title of the University to this twenty acres was clouded. He accordingly appealed to his friend McMillan, who took over the case, studied it carefully, and finally took it to Santa Fe to be passed on by the U. S. District Court there.

This was done and the University's title made good. Boyd then persuaded the Regents to buy two hundred and thirty acres more land nearby.

Boyd was President of the University of New Mexico for seven years. Soon after he became president he also became a member of the State Board of Education, just as he did in Oklahoma. He realized that one reason for the small student body at the University was that there were very few high schools in New Mexico. Of course there were high schools at Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Roswell, Las Vegas, Raton, and possibly one or two other towns but that was about all.

Accordingly, for his first few years as President of the University and member of the State Board of Education he traveled about over the state organizing high schools and also advertising the University. High schools were started at Tucumcari, Clovis, Artesia, Gallup, Las Cruces, Socorro, Carrizozo, Aztec, Alamogordo, Lordsburg, Santa Rosa, Clayton, Tularosa, and Deming. As a result the University student body had grown to about eight hundred when Boyd resigned in 1919. As in Oklahoma he organized an equivalent of the "Push Class" but it was never as successful as in Oklahoma because of differences in the time of settlement and type of settlers.

New Mexico was admitted to the Union the same year that Dr. Boyd became president of its University. At its admission as a state it had been authorized to select 250,000 acres of land from the public domain for the benefit of the University. In his travels over the state Boyd had seen that there was a considerable body of good grazing land in the Pecos Valley and also east of Roswell extending to the Texas line. Much of this was still United States government land. It was used for grazing by ranchmen but homesteaders were coming in and the cowmen realized that grazing on the public domain would soon be ended.

Boyd therefore began to urge these men to sign leases for considerable areas of this pasture land at from three to seven or eight cents an acre a year. When a ranchman would make such a lease Dr. Boyd would have the land located as University property. He tried to make leases for as short a term of years as possible because he knew that the price of grazing was certain to increase. Eventually the entire 250,000 acres had been set aside as University land and all was under lease. This added to the annual income of the University especially after oil was found on part of this land.

During their first year at the University of New Mexico the Boyds lived in a rented house on Hill Street. It was a large two story brick house and they found it very comfortable. At the end of the year they bought it for a remarkably low price. When they left Albuquerque they sold it for far more than they had paid for it. Later the University built homes on the campus giving Faculty members a ninety-nine year lease of a building site on the 230 acres that Boyd had induced the regents to buy.

Boyd made no changes in the faculty when he became President of the University but of course brought in additional faculty members as the student body grew in numbers and more funds became available. Soon after reaching New Mexico he also set to work to form a geological survey of the same type as that of Oklahoma.

The seven years that Dr. Boyd spent as President of the University of New Mexico were very happy ones. His relations with the faculty were quite cordial and the same was true as to his relations with the Board of Regents. Moreover, he had very little difficulty with political leaders of the state. They were glad to see the University steadily growing and so did not interfere. Adequate appropriations were hard to get because the state was thinly peopled and had no large amount of taxable property.

Boyd planned a building program but it was difficult to get funds for new buildings. Old ones were repaired, however, the campus improved, trees and flowers planted and the University became an attractive place. The people of Albuquerque began to be proud of it and one additional building was erected. All buildings were of the Pueblo type of architecture.

Soon after reaching Albuquerque Boyd was invited to join a most exclusive organization called "The Ten Dons." It was composed of ten men of education and culture who had lived interesting and fruitful lives. Only one from each vocation or profession was chosen. The education member had gone to California leaving a vacancy which Boyd was chosen to fill. They had ten dinners a year, each member entertaining the others in turn, and the wives usually prepared the dinner. Each Don also wrote a paper every year which he presented after dinner to be discussed by his fellow-members.

The Boyds loved New Mexico and the city of Albuquerque and made many close friends there. They loved the clear bracing air, the turquoise skies, the blue mountains, and clear, sparkling streams. New Mexico became

to them truly a "Land of Enchantment." Most of all they loved the people. In traveling over the state they found the age-old Indian, and Spanish-American villages and their inhabitants very interesting. Albquerque had a cosmopolitan population. It included numerous persons of culture from the East. Some came because they had tuberculosis, or asthma. Their relatives came and stayed because of the beauty of the country.

Much as he liked his position, Dr. Boyd decided in 1919 to resign it in order to devote himself to looking after his property interests. These were considerable. In addition to 640 acres of land adjoining Norman he owned 250 acres in McClain County. He sold one half the mineral rights of this 250 acres for enough to pay for the entire tract. He also had other property intrests.

There had been no difficulty in New Mexico and no doubt he could have retained his position for several more years but he was sixty-six years old in 1919 and felt that it was time to retire, to have a little leisure, and give more attention to his personal affairs. The Boyds retained their home in Albuquerque until 1921 and Mrs. Boyd lived there most of the time. Dr. Boyd, however, spent much time in Oklahoma looking after his property there. During this period of 1919 to 1921 he helped to organize the Peoples Finance and Thrift Company in Oklahoma City. It was capitalized at $250,000.00 and made small loans to be repaid in ten monthly payments.

In 1920 Alice Boyd went to Los Angeles where she secured an excellent position in the city library. Probably largely to be with her, Dr. and Mrs. Boyd removed to Glendale, California the following year. They lived in a rented house for a short time, then bought a home on Harvard Street which they eventually traded for a lot at 522 North Louise where they built an attractive little home to fit their needs. It was at this home that my wife and I were privileged to visit him every weekday morning during August, 1936, to obtain his life story.

In 1927, Dr. Boyd returned to Albuquerque to give the commencement address to the graduating seniors of the city's high school. While there he was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the University which he had served as president for seven years. This was an honor of which he was justly proud. Yet, the University of Oklahoma was always his first love so he must have been doubly proud when, in 1930, its regents, at the suggestion of President W. B. Bizzell, conferred upon him the title of President Emeritus.

My wife and I said goodbye to the Boyds about the first of September, 1936. For four weeks we had sat with Dr. Boyd in his study for two hours every day, except Sunday, and had taken notes as he told us his life story. These notes were transcribed when we returned to our own apartment. We were careful not to tire him but his health appeared good, and he apparently enjoyed these hours as much as we did. To me his mind and memory seemed as keen and clear as when I first saw him in an Oklahoma two-room school house forty years before.

On our last day he thanked us for coming, said he might return to Oklahoma for a visit the next summer, and was looking forward to being with us in Norman in 1942 for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the University. Early the following morning we started on the long drive to Oklahoma feeling that we could say truthfully: "Mission Accomplished." In 116 typed pages of notes plus some two dozen photographs was the life story of David Ross Boyd from infancy to September, 1936, as told by himself, with exact dates and names verified by old letters, and documents preserved by his wife and daughter. How little our notes lacked in tracing his life-story "from the cradle to the grave" we did not realize until the sad news came that he had died on November 17, 1936, less than three months after we had left his home in Glendale.

David Ross Boyd was an outstanding example of those hardy pioneers who came west to the American Frontier not for material gain but to promote those cultural and spiritual values without which any people must be poor indeed. His contributions to Oklahoma were enormous. Not only did he lay the foundations for the present stature of the University, but as president of the Territorial Board of Education helped much in establishing the present public school system of the state.

Finally, it was due to his efforts that Section 13 in every township of the Cherokee Outlet was given to the state for the benefit of higher education and Section 33 for public buildings. As already stated this was taken as a precedent for reserving to the state those sections in Greer County and the great Kiowa-Comanche country when they were added to Oklahoma Territory. He was therefore primarily responsible for Oklahoma's receiving a huge landed estate to be used to advance higher education and erect public buildings, perhaps that of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Dr. Boyd's influence, however, was nation-wide in scope. He taught rural schools in Ohio when he was hardly more than a boy, was principal of the high school and superintendent of the Van Wert, Ohio and Arkansas City, Kansas schools before coming to Oklahoma Territory. Later as superintendent of education for the Presbyterian Mission he established schools among the Mormons of Utah, the Indians of the Southwest, and the mountaineers of the Middle South. His final position in the field of education was seven years as President of the University of New Mexico.

In even a long article it has been possible to give only a brief account of the more important episodes in the career of this distinguished educational pioneer. It is to be hoped that eventually a booklength biography will be written and published giving with some detail all the humorous or tragic incidents in the life story of David Ross Boyd which this writer has regretfully omitted.

WORKING OUR WAY THROUGH COLLEGE

By R. M. House *

In these days of the 1960's very few students work their way through college. Money is plentiful and constantly on the move. Almost two and one half million people live in Oklahoma now where only a few hundred thousand lived sixty-five years ago. Families now are settled on improved farms and in fine homes in cities. People build savings accounts now and interest on surplus money adds to a family's prosperity in helping to pay college expenses, while in those days people built homes and farms covered with mortgages and interests on borrowed money kept people everywhere from spending money for anything but the necessities of life. Now parents send their children to college and many of them are supplied with cars and spending money without stint. In those days the reverse was true. Girls as well as boys "worked their way through college" and it was an honorable undertaking. One of my sisters was loaned $200.00 by our father to enroll at Oklahoma University where she "worked" her way, stayed five years, graduated in 1902 and went to the Philippines as one of those missionary-teachers under Dr. J. C. Muerman, right after the Spanish American War.

Her ambition, grit and example inspired me, and as a result I planned to enroll in Mechanical Engineering in September 1899, at Stillwater, in the Class of 1903. I had taught two fine terms of District School in Lincoln County Oklahoma Territory and my teacher's certificate was good for another year. Because of financial problems I decided to teach another term and postpone my college entrance until the beginning of the spring term, (three terms then instead of two semesters). I enrolled with the same group and class, in which I would have enrolled six months before.

I had learned from correspondence with President Angelo C. Scott that I could enroll in the spring term,

* R. Morton House, graduate Engineer from A. & M. College in Stillwater, June 3, 1903, became a Westinghouse engineer, earning his degree from the Westinghouse Apprentice School in 1905. He served as installing engineer for 60,000 KVA transformers (largest then in the World) at Niagara Falls, Canada, in 1905; and other 60,000 volt plants at Canyon Ferry, Lake, and Anaconda, Montana, 1906.—Ed.

VIEW OF OKLAHOMA A. & M. CAMPUS, 1903

Old Central Building at center, with first power plant and smoke stacks shown in the rear at a distance. To the left in the picture is the first Chemistry Building. To the right (foreground). "The New Library" first occupied in 1900, east half of building; west half (completed, 1903), lower floor "Domestic Science," upper floor "Biology."

either by passing examinations in the courses already covered in the fall and winter terms, or by being charged with "conditions" which would have to be "made up" by regular classwork and examinations before graduation. This only presented another challenge to me and resulted in my studying, and teaching my best pupils, Algebra, Plane Geometry, Physics, Latin and other subjects required for my entrance into A. & M. College. After passing entrance examinations given me by President Scott, I enrolled as a Freshman at A.&M. April 4, 1900, with eight terms of "conditions" charged against me which I had to "make up" and remove as soon as I could find time to include them in my class schedules. Of course this meant much additional time for study and much more work but it was a joyful undertaking, for I had enrolled with the idea that I had to "work my way through college."

My possessions included a new three-piece suit of clothes which I bought for $7.00 in Chandler, and $62.50 in cash. There were ninety-five of us in our Freshman Class and twenty three graduated June 3, 1903. All the time I was in college I roomed just across the street from the present Auditorium for $2.00 per month, and obtained good board for $3.50 per week. Odd jobs on the campus and around town paid ten cents an hour and I was paid $10.00 per month as janitor in "Old Central."

As funds disappeared and jobs ceased at end of spring term, everyone was forced to dream and plan for income during the summer months, and three of my classmates, Charley Morrow, Jack Robinson and Dean Swift decided with me that we would take advantage of the good pay available in the wheat harvest in nearby Kansas. Charley, who had formerly lived in Kansas and had worked in the wheat harvest, made arrangements with a Mr. Blaylock and the other men he had worked for, to give the four of us work on arrival on June 16, 1900, at Bushton, Kansas, about ten miles east of the center of that state. We were to report to Mr. Blaylock about three miles northwest of Bushton, Sunday evening.

We packed our necessary work clothes in our "telescopes," and started on our "great adventure of 'beating' our way" to the wheat fields, for none of us had enough money for railroad fare. Imagine two boxes made of canvas covered heavy pasteboard, about 12" x 18" by 10" high — one of them being the lid just enough larger than the other to turn upside down and slip over the other, held together by two long straps with buckles. This

"telescope" could be ten inches high or could be overloaded and made sixteen inches high. Mine was about fourteen inches high and weighed sixteen pounds. We started early in the morning on foot for Perry, twenty-four miles away. Our heavy telescopes were troublesome but a farmer in a wagon helped us quite a bit by picking us up near "Bill's Corner," and hauling us the last twelve miles.

Just about dusk a north bound freight stopped at the tank south of town for water. We boarded the box cars having previously expressed our telescopes to our destination. We had divided into pairs without any planning, but Charley Morrow and I seemed to suit each other best for two reasons. First he and I were janitors in "Old Central," he upstairs and I below with the president's office where I daily rang the bell; and second, Charley was a positive, daring leader with a mind of his own. On the other hand, Jack Robinson was a boastful, vacillating, follower type of boy; and Dean Swift was a clean, high-minded, dreamer who would never dare to lead. I was new at the business at hand and although I was fearless I needed some one to show me how to meet the problems which might arise. Charley looked for a "hole" (unlocked door) in some car but could fine none, so we got aboard the end couplings of two adjacent cars as the freight train pulled out.

Suddenly we heard a low voice saying, "Come around to the other end." We hurriedly dropped off and jumped up on the other bumper and found the end door open with a broken "seal" hanging in the hasp. We knew that it was unlawful to break a car-seal, but we both crawled in and found we were in a car-load of sacked Irish potatoes, with a colored boy standing "spread-eagled" against the end of the car. We saw an empty half circle on the floor by the side door where the potatoes had been loaded. We hurriedly made a circular hole in the center of the car floor by filling the empty area by the door with sacks from the center of the car and hid down in the hole out of sight, for it was a cattle car and any one outside could see right through the car.

Our advantage, however, was of short duration for soon we saw a wavering light flashing around inside the car. We knew that a brakeman was examining the broken car-seal and that we were in for trouble. He stuck his head into the car, ordered us out to the top of the next car and took us to the caboose. As we staggered along the top of the train to the caboose Charley told me to say

nothing — he would do the talking. I felt relieved because I could not talk their language and I knew Charley could. I was scared because of that broken seal, for we knew the breaking of one unlawfully was a penitentiary offence, and even though I knew we were not guilty, I feared we might be accused with being accessories. The "brakey" turned all of us over to the conductor who began talking to the colored boy and he talked rough. He scared me plenty! But we told him the truth and said the seal was broken when we found it. The conductor told the "brakey" to kick the colored boy off the train, and I never saw a person who showed fear any more than that boy did. He was ashy white. The "brakey" put the boy off the train, but it was climbing a long steep grade and was just creeping along so slowly that the boy could not have been hurt. As the "brakey" returned I saw a twinkle in his eye, and I knew then that we were safe for the worst was over.

The conductor turned us over to the "brakey" and nothing more was said about the broken seal. We were asked how much money we had. Charley made them accept the idea that we had only two bits that we could spare, so we shelled out and were told to go ahead but be sure to get off at White Eagle water tank. We were taken to "our" car and seated on the roof with our feet hanging over the edge of the car. About twenty other harvest-bound men who had "paid their fare" were sitting around the edge of the car. It was a beautiful night with a full moon, and we had a wonderful ride to White Eagle where we did not get off. Charley told me to sit still, and he would take care of the problem. The train left for Arkansas City the next stop, and pretty soon the "brakey" came along flashing his "glim" (lantern) in the men's faces and stopped in front of us, and yelled with profanity, "I thought I told you to get off at White Eagle." Again Charley, who knew how to talk their language, fixed it up so we rode on to Arkansas City for another two bits.

Arriving in Arkansas City, we lost no time in getting out of the railroad "yards" for we had heard on the road that the large "yards" were full of "bulls" (plain-clothes men) hunting for "bums" wanted elsewhere for illegal acts. We knew we were not bums — we were only "hoboes." (Hoboes paid for everything but railroad fare — while bums paid for nothing, even begged their food.) We hunted a restaurant for breakfast, and ran into our other buddies, Jack Robinson and Dean Swift, and another classmate, Datus Sater who also was on his way to harvest

farther north. We asked Jack and Dean what it cost them to get to Arkansas City and they reported $1.00 each. Charley then laid down the law and said, "I haven't got enough money to travel that way so I'll go it alone if necessary. You fellows go ahead and get there the best way you can." That suited me fine, so Charley and I continued as partners. In those days restaurants fed good sized meals for fifteen cents, and we filled up pretty well. One custom then, was to set out plates with three whole slices of bread with lots of butter at each customer"s plate, and more could be had for the asking. While the waiter was on errands elsewhere we filled our coat pockets with bread and butter sandwiches for the road ahead.

We jumped an empty boxcar going to Wichita containing several other hoboes. When discovered by a brakey, Charley again persuaded him to accept two bits from each of us for it was only about forty miles. Much time was wasted waiting for trains and for chances to board them. It was late in the evening before we finally got out of Wichita. While we were listening for the "hi-ball" which would tell us that our "side-door-sleeper" was ready to pull out, a north bound passenger pulled into the station. (A "hi-ball" is two blasts from the whistle of an outgoing locomotive, and a "side-door-sleeper" is an empty box car.) During the time the train crew was changing loads, Charley suggested we ride to Newton on the passenger cow-catcher. He hid behind baggage trucks on the left side of the train, and I hid by a building on the right side. When the engineer finished oiling the engine and climbed into his cab and "hi-balled," we darted forward and crawled onto the cowcatcher platform.

Never have I had such a ride! Sixty miles an hour across the broad Kansas prairies — full moon — no clouds — freezing in front — roasting behind — track ahead looked like it was uphill at an angle of thirty of forty degrees. I was glad we did not meet any loose cows on the track. Once while looking around to the rear I saw the engineer leaning out of his window looking at the track ahead. I felt sure that he was seeing me, and told Charley so. When that engineer blew his whistle for crossings and stations, we were so startled that we almost lost our tight grip on the brace rods which held us in place on the platform. We rode that way for about twenty-five miles. Finally, we arrived at the Newton station where the station lights shone so brightly on us that we got out of sight for safety's sake, and had to let the passenger train proceed without us.

Newton was a division town and the yards were busy twenty-four hours a day. We now decided to ride out on the rods. Charlie would take the west side of the train, and I the east. He told me to run at the same speed as the train and grab a rod and never let go — and throw myself in and under the car and onto the crossbar. Well we heard the "hi-ball," and started to move with the train, I tried the first car, but it was occupied. I tried a second car and a third, both of them occupied. I was getting desperate for the train was going as fast as I could run but luckily the next car was empty, and I boarded it without accident. I felt quite relieved for under such cirumstances one accident is the last a person experiences. The cars now-a-days have no such rods and cannot be ridden. Four long rods, two on each side of car, used to extend from end to end of the car each having a turnbuckle in its middle for tightening and bracing the car, with a board between two rods through the turnbuckles. These rods made it possible for a passenger to ride with his hands holding the rods in front of him with his feet and ankles hanging to the rods behind him and his stomach resting on the board. Later, I learned by experience a person could turn over and let his hips rest on the board. Needless to say, a passenger could never go to sleep or let his hands lose their grip on the rods. Also, he must keep his eyes closed or cover his head and eyes with a large handkerchief to avoid getting dirt and cinders in his eyes.

We rode the rods thus to Admire where we had to leave the Santa Fe, and travel the Missouri Pacific to Bushton. We lost no time getting out of the "yards" because the closer we got to the wheat fields the thicker the "bulls" became as protectors of railroad property. The next morning was a beautiful Sunday morning. Trains were scarce and the town was quiet. Ringing church bells made me wish I were at home bathed and dressed and going to Sunday services but we were tired and dirty and bound for a summer of hard work.

About noon a work train loaded with chat came in. Charley thought he did well to get a free ride to Council Grove in return for our help in unloading the chat alongside the roadbed near Council Grove. We worked pretty hard for a couple of hours. Then instead of unloading us at Council Grove, the conductor hauled us back to Admire. We were disgusted victims, and had to wait for another west bound freight.

In that part of Kansas, the treeless country seemed to "roll in waves" with hilltops about three miles apart with

long slopes and wide valleys between. Trains would speed down from a hilltop and crawl up to the next one. Admire was built on one of these hills. Through trains would simply "hi-ball" when they passed the Admire station and begin to speed up. About 1:00 p.m., Charley and I were just out of town about a hundred yards down the slope from the hilltop waiting for a ride. Charley told me we would have to run for it, catch hold of a side ladder and climb up on the car, but to hold my grip when I caught the ladder. The ground was very rough and uneven beside the track. Charley was a hundred yard dash man while I was only a mile runner, so his problem was easier than mine, for the train was running faster than I could run. I had to catch hold of a ladder, I did it but was whipped clear around the end of the car. My grip luckily held but my hands were blistered. The end door of the car was unlocked, and we climbed in and rode into Council Grove where we had to wait a long time for it was a division point and trains had to be divided and remade. While waiting, we noticed dozens of men sitting like us on the banks on both sides of the tracks. When they heard the "hi-ball," they rose like a charging army and mounted the tops of the box cars. They were going west for the harvest! The "brakeys" did well by collecting fifty cents or more from each of that gang for it was about one hundred fifty miles to Hoisington, the next division point.

We were to get off at Geneseo, about twelve miles this side of Bushton where we were to wait till all of us arrived and together walk to Mr. Dick Blaylock's farm where we were to go to work next morning. We got our telescopes from the Geneseo express office and started west to Bushton. Enroute we got permission from a farmer to swim in his nearby pond, and washed and scrubbed ourselves and changed into clean work clothes and arrived at Mr. Blaylock's about dusk where we enjoyed a big Sunday evening supper of cold-meats for the Blaylocks were expecting we would arrive.

It was now June 16 which meant that the days were the longest of the year. We were wakened at early dawn and called to breakfast at a long table set for twelve and heavily loaded with many kinds of fine food. Mr. Blaylock's family consisted of father, mother, one son and three daughters. All four women were kept busy waiting on twelve hungry men who literally "filled" up in a hurry, and started to the wheat field before sunup. We came back for dinner and supper and the table appeared too small to hold the food prepared for us. Also at ten and four

o'clock the women would bring baskets of food to us wherever we were in the field, and we ate as if we had not eaten before during the day. I never ate so much in my life. It was a wonderful experience, to think of where all that food came from and how we ate all of it, how our bodies changed it into energy and we turned it into work until we were exhausted at dark, when we would return to the house for more food and would throw ourselves down in the hayloft or on the grass in the yard, and immediately fall asleep, only till daylight when we were awakened only to repeat the process. In addition to all that food they agreed to pay us $2.50 per day as long as the wheat lasted. We earned it.

It was the day of "headed" wheat before "combines" came into use, and before tractors displaced horses. The horse-drawn "header" with an extra-long cutting sickle would move down the field mowing the heads off while leaving as much straw standing as possible, and elevate the grain into a "header barge" driven alongside the header. In areas of richer ground the heads would be heavier and droop downward. In ravines where moisture was more plentiful the grain might have fallen low, and to be sure to get all the grain the "header man" would lower his sickle, thus cutting great quantities of straw, which being elevated into the "barge" would simply bury the "barge-man." He would have to abandon his job of spreading the load evenly in the barge, and fight his way to the top of the load. Experienced harvesters enjoyed "hazing" green hands with this process and I got my share of it. The gang would become hilarious watching the antics of the victim trying to extricate himself. It was quite an experience. When a barge was filled it would fall out of line and drive to the stack lot and another empty barge would drive in and take its place, without a stop. The barge man and his driver would pitch-fork the load to the stack-men who would build twin stacks as large as 12 feet wide, 30 feet long and 12 feet high. The barge then would hurry back for another load. The only time we found to rest was when we could get a drink of water. The water-boy would almost run to and from the well to keep us from stopping from exhaustion. We kept a wet bandanna handkerchief on our heads under our hats for the cloudless midsummer days were hot. As soon as the sun set, we all would hurry to the table and fill up on that good food. A few minutes before we fell asleep, we boys would visit and one would say, "What are we working so hard for?" Another would answer, "We are working our way through college." And another would say,

"Just think of working this hard till we are through college and we are only Freshmen now. Do you reckon that good grub will last that long?" Then we laid ourselves down on the grass under the bright moon, and fell asleep thinking of the tiresome but glorious days ahead.

Two neighbors, Mr. Dick Blaylock and Mr. Bill Willis, had joined in their harvesting that year. They had about 240 acres of wheat each and different fields ripened on different days, so we would harvest back and forth on different days for the two owners who were such different men. Mr. Blaylock and his family were Christians, they all went to Sunday church services and we never heard him utter any bad language, no matter what the provocation. He was quiet and retiring. Mr. Willis was a fine, good-hearted, red-headed, quick tempered, roug-speaking, two-fisted, fighting Irishman, who used fearful language. It was difficult to understand how those two men could be such close friends, as they were, but they and their hired men all worked together harmoniously throughout the season.

The first day we harvested in Mr. Willis's wheat, at noon when we were in at the house by the horse-trough washing up and getting ready for dinner, Mr. Willis said he had a special treat for us. He went into the house to get it, and returned with an unopened box containing four quarts of Old Crow whiskey. He made quite a ceremony of opening it, bragging all the time on its merits. Quite a session followed. I was so awful dirty that I washed and scrubbed industriously in the rear so as to be the last one to be offered a drink, (A good plan to follow for sometimes a problem is solved before it gets to the last person in line.) Poor old Dean — he was the first one to be offered a drink. I was proud that he refused for I knew he was a clean Christian boy, but he only said, "No, I don't drink." Then Mr. Willis exploded. He was insulted — he had no use for a man that refused to drink with him — and his language and tones would have scared most anyone. I wondered what I was in for. Then he offered a drink to Jack and I really was not surprised that Jack accepted, because he could well still be scared. I knew he was not the "total abstinence" type. Then it was Charley's turn because I was still in the rear scrubbing industriously. Charley was a fine boy with fine principles and habits but was not a Christian and was indifferent to a man's drinking habits, having not settled the question for himself so, after he accepted his glass and thanked Mr. Willis for it, it became my turn. When Mr. Willis handed me my glass, I looked him in the eye

and said, "Mr. Willis, I thank you for the offer and I would as soon drink with you as with any man I ever met, but I wish you would excuse me because I have never tasted liquor, for it is against my training. I am a "total abstainer."

It took all the guts I had to make that speech, but Mr. Willis shook my hand and said, "Now that's the way I like to hear a man talk — if it's against your principles to drink liquor it's OK with me." I was through washing and drying by that time and we all went in to a big, fine dinner. I felt good and we never saw or heard any more about liquor the rest of the summer.

Local harvesting finally was completed and all work was changed to threshing. The threshing machine which threshed the wheat that we harvested was a "36-inch J. I. Case" with a fifteen foot extension feeder. It was the largest machine in the field and had an insatiable appetite, with its "36-inch" mouth. The thresher would be backed in between a pair of twin stacks of headed grain and the six man crew of pitchers would mount those stacks, three on each stack, trying to keep that extension feeder full rolling into that hungry mouth. The largest threshing record for one day by the gang was 3,600 bushels, working from just before sunup till late dusk. Instead of barges hauling headed grain to the stack, one of the problems then was hauling the threshed grain from the thresher to the grain elevator and having an empty wagon always available, for the elevator was several miles distant.

We had thought harvesting was hard work, but now learned that we were mistaken. When binders harvested grain, it was stacked in bundles and the top bundles could be lifted off the stacks and pitched onto the thresher feeder. Headed grain however, was cut with uneven straw lengths on each head and was handled three or four times between cutting and final placement in the stack. It tangled more each time it was handled, and lifting a forkful from a settled stack to the extension feeder rapidly sapped a pitcher's strength. The pace was terrific and without cessation, from the fact that the size of paychecks which depended upon the number of bushels threshed, could be made larger by simply working faster. The sum of $3.50 to $5.00 per day could be earned in those days, and that was wonderful money, just depending upon number of pitchers, condition of stack, toughness of the gang, length of day, no failures of machines, teams or men, and the speed of the workers. The labor turnover with the "good" gangs was terrific

— a pitcher couldn't stand the pace and would drop out — his place would be filled by a new "hobo" for a day or two — then he would be off and another fellow on. This went on for weeks till only the toughest men remained.

I never did more work or worked harder in my life than I did the first six days of threshing headed wheat in 1900. On Saturday I realized I was not doing my share for I could see the gang watching me, but I thought Sunday would fix me up all right. I would get a good bath and sleep all day and be fine Monday ready for another big week. Then I learned that the crew worked on right through Sunday, and I would have no chance to rest. Then I gave up and drew my pay check. Another reason I lost my nerve was the fact that Mr. Willis had told me the day we finished threshing at his place that when I wanted a new job, he had one for me at $60.00 per month plowing his wheat stubble, and I could drive four horses pulling a two bottom riding plow. That looked much better to me so I decided to go no farther north, although Charley decided to follow the wheat harvest clear into Canada. I spent the rest of the summer at Mr. Willis's farm. Now there was time to readjust to the life I had been used to when I lived on a homestead farm before I started to college.

August was drawing to a close and very soon the day would come for me to return home, and on to college again at Stillwater. The summer had been well spent in good surroundings and was financially profitable, for I had sent $150.00 to Mr. Ed Good for deposit in my account in the Stillwater Bank. I would have about $30.00 with me for a complete outfit of new clothes for the next school year, which I intended to buy in Ottawa, Kansas. I also needed some change to care for the "brakeys" enroute home since I would have to travel on four different railroads to get home, if I went by Ottawa. I was "on my own" now, for all of the boys had scattered north. I surely missed Charley but I remembered another thing that he had told me in Arkansas City—to avoid mingling with "hoboes" and to always be "broke" for fear of being attacked and robbed. So on September 3, I put half of my "folding" money in each sock heel. Dressed in a brown shirt and overalls, I took my telescope down and expressed it to Stroud, and walked up and down a long east bound wheat train bound for Kansas City, looking for an unlocked door. I could find none. The train crew was sitting on the opposite bank watching me but in desperation I climbed up on a car and sat down

FIFTEEN OF THIS GROUP GRADUATED FROM OKLAHOMA A. & M.,

June 3, 1903

Part of the Freshmen Class at northwest corner of Old Central Building, April 22, 1900, before proceeding to A. & M. "All College Track Meet" which they won.

on it with my feet hanging over the edge. about three cars from the engine. Almost immediately the "hi-ball" sounded, and we were on our way. Away down at the caboose end of the train, I saw a brakey walking toward me. He asked me where I was going and I told him to Council Grove on my way home to school. He wanted a dollar for it was about one hundred twenty-five miles to Council Grove. I told him I had sent most of my wages home for school and showed him all the change I had in my pocket, and said I would be lucky to get home on that. I talked him into accepting fifty cents. I felt good about it because as a boy I had learned the slogan, "Gentlemen do not need to use foul or profane language to express their thoughts." I did not lie to him for I did not tell him I did not have any more money. I told him and showed him that was all the change I had in my pocket. He said, "Boy, you sure can talk plain." He became my friend, and took me to the car next to the engine with an unlocked door. He told me to get in and if I saw anybody else wanting a ride to get them in with me. The car was full of wheat and rode so softly and quietly that a passenger would get sleepy, and I went to sleep.

However, I wanted to go to Ottawa which was twice as far as Council Grove, and decided I did not want the train crews to bother me on the way. I figured that my knowledge of "lights and shadows" would take care of me. At the end of the car away from the unlocked door, I scooped away the wheat up and over away from me until I had a triangular hole say three feet deep next to the end of the car, with an eight foot wide floor sloping upward to the edge of the level wheat in the rest of the car. I crawled over and made the carload nice and level and without foot tracks. Then crawled back into my hideaway and went to sleep. I rode clear to Ottawa without being discovered. I slept most of the way on a "form-fitting mattress" and ate wheat to avoid getting hungry.

About midnight, after I had been riding almost sixteen hours, we stopped in Council Grove where another train crew would take over. They never knew I was on the train. I decided I would get something to eat, so I crawled out and took the number and name of my "side-door-sleeper," noted which direction the open end faced and hurried to find a restaurant. I ate a good meal and drank lots of extra milk and hurried back to the switch yards. I had a lot of trouble finding my "sleeper" among the hundreds of cars for there were several switch engines remaking up trains. Finally I located it with its door still unlocked, and crawled into my bedroom and prepared

to sleep. Just before we left the yard, I heard a brakey opening the unlocked door and saw his glim flashing around the inside of the car. He was looking for passengers but the top level edge of by "bedroom" appeared to him to be against the end wall of the car, and he decided the car had no passengers. A railroad traveller with a railroad folder can tell where he is and learn about the country he is travelling through by seeing the station names as he passes. The next afternoon at Pamona, I crawled out and rode on the coupler because Ottawa was the next station. Just before we stopped in Ottawa a brakey found me and was astonished to learn that I had started at Bushton two hundred miles west. I did not tell him the ride had cost me only fifty cents.

I had lived in Ottawa when I was a boy, from 1884 to 1889, having received all of my grade schooling there, before my father moved to Sac and Fox Agency, Indian Territory. I spent two wonderful days here visiting with the two remaining boyhood chums I found and their families. I bought a complete outfit of new clothes for next year at college. I wanted my friend's parents to know me as a college boy instead of as a "hobo." We went down to the railroad station where I bought a ticket to Richmond and said goodbye to my friends and rode in style south towards home. I got off at Richmond, changed into my old clothes, sent by prepaid express my bundle of clothing to Stroud and waited for a freight train with a side-door-sleeper, I found one, entered and without trouble landed at Vinita where I had to change to the Frisco railroad which would take me to Stroud.

Out of Vinita I found a large open space in the end of a gondola car loaded with long, large oilfield pipe. It was an open roomy place in the afternoon sunshine and I had a fine ride, but just before we got to Claremore a brakey found me and loaded me into a boxcar. After collecting "two-bits" from me, leaving me with only fifteen cents to get home on, he gave me a going-over which I badly needed. I thanked him and I have never forgotten the experience. He said that riding in the end of a car loaded with pipe is one of the most dangerous places to ride that can be found, for if a wreck should occur, the pipe would slip endways and crush the rider against the end of the car. His lecture made me think of the fact that when riding a train we do not think of the possibility of a wreck. Then I thought of riding on the bumpers between cars — of riding the rods — the cow-catcher — sitting on the edge of the roof — walking along the roofs of a fast moving rocking train — hiding in a car of wheat which

would smother me if turned over—or in a car of pipe which would cut me to pieces — and was, and I still am, very thankful that no wreck occurred to mar my experiences of that summer.

When we arrived in Sapulpa where the road forked, I had to change trains and go west. I had not eaten since early morning and knew I could not get home before noon the next day. I was wondering what to do because there was only fifteen cents in my pocket, and I had heard that the "brakeys" and "bulls" in the Sapulpa yards were extra tough. But a wonderful thing happened. While walking up and down the platform, I met a boy I used to play with ten years before at Sac and Fox Agency and had not seen for nine years. We had a fine visit. I told him the fine story of my summer's experiences and he took me into the railroad restaurant and fed me a two-bit supper, I surely filled up. I have never seen Jim Casey since but I will always have a warm spot in my heart for him. He surely was a friend in time of need. It was dark now and I went down to the west end of the yards and waited for a train on the main track and its "hi-ball." Finally I caught the rods under a coal car bound for Stroud, the last leg of my trip. We made it without mishap past Kellyville, with its one store and cattle loading pen, and Bristow and on through Hall's Switch, now called Milfay, all in Indian Territory.

Just before we got to the Territorial line the train with an awful rattling stopped out in the timber and the crew began walking up and down the train, on both sides past my car, shining their "glims" under the cars looking for something. I reasoned that they could not have learned of me but I was uneasy and did not want to be caught and ditched away out among the coyotes where nobody lived. So I arched myself up high to the floor of the car and held my breath. Soon they found what they were hunting, gathered at the front end of my car and made an awful racket pulling something off the breakbeam. Then came the "hi-ball" and we started for Stroud, three miles over the line into Oklahoma Territory where I got "out from under." I went up to the station, ceasing to be a hobo and became one of the local town loafers for this was my "home-town." While talking to the train crew I learned that the noise and hubub back where the train stopped was caused by the engine running over and killing a calf which rolled under the train, finally lodging on the breakbeam of my car, four cars from the engine. I have often wondered what I would have done if that

calf had rolled back one more car length, under and maybe touching me while on the rods.

In the Stroud yards I found two empty cattle cars cleaned and provided with a heavy bed of clean hay made ready for loading cattle in the morning. I crawled in and had a fine night's sleep on that clean hay. Next morning, which was Monday, I went to the restaurant that our family patronized when we were in Stroud. I got a couple of flapjacks and a glass of milk with my last fifteen cents before starting on the six-mile walk to my home at Sac and Fox Agency. I would have gone to another restaurant had I known what was in store for me.

I had not had a haircut for four months, nor a shave for three days. I had hoboed for two days — the last three hours under a dusty coalcar and was in my dirty working clothes. I was a sight! The last of March, just six months ago, I had finished teaching my last district school before entering college and had spent the term's last Friday in the usual holiday manner, my best pupils in the most prominent places on the program with Rose Nelson graduating from the 8th grade. I was shocked when Rose walked toward me in the restaurant, and took my order for flapjacks and a glass of milk. I shrank to minimum size and quietly gulped my food and got out of there. Rose never knew she had fed her school teacher.

I secured my prepaid telescope and bundle of clothes from the express office and started home. I cut corners to save steps and thus missed seeing my father busy at his blacksmith forge. A half mile away I found my mother and sister busy doing the family washing, it being Monday morning. I knocked at the back door and asked my sister who answered, if they had some chores to do or wood to be chopped in exchange for something to eat. My sister Rachel did not know me and turned back to ask mother what to do. When mother looked up she knew me. They both quit washing clothes and went to feeding me all the good "home-cookin' " I could hold. After I did some chores I had a wonderful hot bath in an old fashioned galvanized iron tub.

A few days later with an ample supply of clothing, refreshed in body and mind, with more than twice as much money as when I started as a Freshman, with a job as janitor in the new Library, (now Williams Hall) at $10.00 per month, without any financial worries, I knew I had earned half my way through college. I also knew that I could manage the next two summers to earn enough to carry me through my Junior and Senior years.

R. MORTON HOUSE

As graduate of Oklahoma A. & M. College, 1903.

The experiences of that summer through the wheat harvest in Kansas were wonderful and beneficial. All these things happened sixty five years ago, and it has been a pleasure to think of these events and of how things have changed.[1] Then our students numbered about 550; now our enrollment is more than 13,000; then my room rent was $2.00 per month just across the street from the campus and the best board was $3.50 per week; then there were three main buildings; now there are three dozen; then we were A. & M. College, now we are Oklahoma State University.

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[1] Of the five boys who spent the summer of 1900 in the Kansas wheat fields, Dean Swift died of pneumonia in his junior year in 1902; Charley Morrow graduated in 1903 and went to Colorado for his health, and died of "galloping consumption" in 1905; Jack Robinson graduated as a chemist and spent the last years of his life as a Mining Engineer in the silver mines in Nevada where he died in 1957 at Pioche, Nevada; Datus Sater, father of Judge Max Sater of Stillwater, during the summer following his Junior year became a partner with his father in the J. E. Sater Abstract Co. Datus died in 1943 and his son and son's wife and children still live in Stillwater.

I, the sole survivor of the five, am living in Stillwater with my wife, both in good health. I have earned two more A. & M. diplomas and we have two sons, both of whom are graduates of A. & M.; the older son has a Master's diploma from the University of Pittsburgh and the younger has his Doctor's diploma from the University of Illinois. They are fathers of our six grandchildren, one of whom already is a college graduate and the other five are planning ahead for college days; one will attend OSU. All four of the mothers in the family are college graduates, one worked her way through A. & M. All of which goes to prove that while we are not yet "through" with college. I am still reaping benefits from starting in the summer of 1900 to "work my way through college."

ON THE WICHITA-CADDO RANGE

By Chrystabel Berrong Poteet *

Many true stories have been told about ranchers who grazed their cattle on the Wichita-Caddo Indian reservation before these lands were opened for settlement in 1901.

Some of the stories have all the wild elements found in the early days of the Middle West while others are given color by a feminine as well as a masculine touch. The story of Big Jim Walker, independent rancher whose spread lay south of the Canadian River and west of the present town of Hinton, contained both these qualities.

Big Jim, so called from his huge stature and method of handling cattle, was originally from Tennessee but in 1894, he came from a ranch in Texas to Oklahoma Territory. Like many other ranchers of that day, he was hunting cheap range for his cattle. On this reservation, he found an abundance of tall bluestem grass for his herd and in the nearby canyons he discovered springs which furnished a plentiful supply of water.[1]

Commission companies owned many of the herds that grazed on this unassigned land, especially the northern part which was bounded by the South Canadian River. Cow-camps were set up when the cattle were sent out, and a foreman was put in charge of each herd.[2] But

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* The author and her husband (Mr. and Mrs. C. V. Poteet) have lived on a farm 44 years, 3 miles west of Hinton, where they reared their family of four daughters: Evelyn, Elaine, Mary and Elois. Mrs. Poteet has contributed this article in memory of Evelyn (Mrs. Evelyn Fast of Weatherford, Oklahoma) who assisted in the research. Mrs. Fast died on December 29, 1962.

[1] Charlie Erickson, retired farmer living in Hinton, Oklahoma, tells that he and Edd Baysinger another long time resident of this same town, rode range for Big Jim when they were both boys of sixteen. And that they both came together from the state of Illinois to Oklahoma Territory. He further tells that this big congenial fellow with dark eyes and long black mustache was known to all the cowpunchers as Big Jim.

Albert Marvel who works for the city of Hinton also tells that his father rode for Big Jim and that this rancher had quite a 'spread.'

[2] Val Burgman, 84, who lives on a farm north of Hydro tells that in the 1890's he worked as cowpuncher for Oscar Sights, foreman of a camp south of the present town of Hydro. He also states that Mrs. Sights cooked for the cowhands.

(Original photo taken about 1900)

THE OK WAGON YARD

Located at the corner of Evans and Hayes streets, El Reno, Oklahoma.

Jim Walker was an ambitious man. He owned his own cattle, leased his own grazing land and increased the size of his herd each year.

In July, 1895, a nephew Harold Wilson brought his young bride Fanny, in a covered wagon all the way from Chattanooga, Tennessee, to his Uncle's range in Oklahoma Territory. They came partly in adventure but mostly they came to make a "stake" for themselves in the much talked about cow-country of the Middle West. A one room ranch style shack was erected for the couple and Harold was put out as fence rider of the range.

"Out here, we'll just call you Hank," said Big Jim to his nephew soon after his arrival. "Hank sounds a lot more western than the soft sophisticated name of Harold. Another thing too—don't call me Uncle. Around here I'm known simply as Big Jim, and I'm proud to carry the name."

By the end of the year when he had become accustomed to ranch life, Hank was made foreman. Big Jim who treated him more as a son than a nephew trusted him implicitly and gave him wide authority over the range.

Hank and Fanny were happy living out on the wide open prairie and they found that life in this Indian country was not nearly as lonely as they had expected.

First, there was Gorham's Trading Post and Post Office by the South Canadian River. A few miles on farther north in the Cheyenne country was the town of Geary with its well established bank and churches. And to the east was El Reno, a town which had been building since the Run of 1889. In El Reno there was a large wagon yard where cowhands who came to town on Saturday left their horses before going out for a night on the town.[3]

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[3] Mrs. Ellen Conway, a widow with four children, took over this wagon yard in 1898 and operated it for a number of years. She was still manager when the "Drawing" was held in El Reno, 1901, for the settlement of the Wichita-Caddo land. People who had drawn a lucky number left the wagon yard on horseback, in buggies, and wagons to stake their claim. Her youngest son B. T., active business man and one time Mayor of the town, has made El Reno his home since that early date. He remembers as a young boy, how cow-hands from the west came to their wagonyard on Saturdays and remained over Sunday.

The old photo of the "OK Wagon Yard," on the opposite page shows: Dr. Pinkerton, veternarian, in light coat at center of picture; Jno. Carey, local plasterer, in wagon behind the white horse; B. T. Conway (12) and mother in the covered wagon, right; in front small white horse — crippled— and beside him, his owner, a fruit tree

Also, in the year 1898, the Rock Island Railroad extended its line westward from El Reno across the South Canadian River, and a shipping point called Bridgeport was established on its south bank.[4] This shipping station with its stockpens and loading chutes was a boon to the cattlemen of the Wichita-Caddo lands.[5]

Even the Indians on this Reservation were not too unfriendly because ranchers furnished them many beeves—free gratis—during the year. When one old Indian woman learned that Fanny was expecting a child, she tried her best in a primitive way to be kind and helpful. But one night in the Spring of 1901, Fanny's baby was born prematurely. A doctor had been brought out from Geary but the infant never so much as uttered a sound. And in respect to Hank's wishes the boys dug a small grave south of the little house, and buried the child. In less than two days Fanny also died.

"We'll just bury her beside the baby," said Hank to his uncle. "Yes, bury her on the prairie where we started our life together." And by handling the grass turf carefully the men left the graves as flat as the rest of the prairie around them.

To Hank this deep tragedy of early married life embittered his very soul. His only thought of escape from his deep sorrow was to leave this Oklahoma Territory and head west for California. But Big Jim who needed him badly until his present herd of cattle was ready for market begged him to stay.

"You just stay around camp with the boys and me," said Big Jim giving Hank a friendly pat on the shoulder, "and when I ship the cattle I want you to go along with me to Kansas City."

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salesman— also crippled. The some 25 persons in the picture represent all walks of life from horse trader to a Dakota farmer. The barn was originally the first lumber yard in El Reno, The Negro school is in the background to left, one block west. (Identification by B. T. Conway.)

[4] A Rand McNally map of 1898 appearing in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Autumn, 1957) shows that the railroad was completed to Weatherford late that year and that Bridgeport was included in the government survey as well as all township lines in the Wichita-Caddo lands.

[5] A railroad boxcar station named Caddo but later known as Hydro was established about halfway between Weatherford and Bridgeport shipping station. This information furnished by Tom Collier, 90, of Hydro. He also stated that a switch was placed between Bridgeport and Caddo and that the railroad company had two wells drilled there for stock water. This switch was called McCool and in later years it served as a shipping point for grain.

But during the next few months Jim Walker often wondered if he had acted wisely in begging his nephew to stay. So many times when he had come by the little house he found Hank sitting in a chair beside the lonely table grieving over his loss. At such times, feeling like an intruder in a sanctuary, the older man would steal away as silently as any young Indian on the prairie.

On July 4, 1901, the President of the United States issued a proclamation that the Witchita-Caddo as well as the Kiowa-Comanche lands were to be opened for settlement. August 6 and 7 were the days set for the "Drawing" of this land, and ranchers from Lawton to El Reno had all been warned to ship out their cattle and remove all fences within this area before the date set.[6]

Jim Walker who had anticipated the passage of this bill for some time had planned ahead for his last shipment to be a big one. And for this shipment of three-year old steers he had already chartered an entire train to haul them to market.[7]

It was a hot day in July when Big Jim and his cowhands began filling the corrals at the Bridgeport shipping station. Ten cars had already been loaded when the steers in the corral stampeded, broke fence and never stopped running until they reached their grazing grounds to the south.

Big Jim, Hank and the rest of the hands rode hard the rest of that day and all through the night to get these run-away steers to the chutes again so they could be loaded into the cattle cars.

Finally as the brakeman placed the seal on the last car door of the long cattle train and was about to give the signal to the engineer twenty-five cars ahead of him to start moving, Big Jim slumped to the floor of the station platform in a seizure of pain.

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[6] John Murphy, business man and farm owner of Hinton tells there were several rolls of barb wire left on the place which his father homesteaded four miles northwest of Hinton. Bill Schrameck, 84, who still lives on his homestead between Hinton and Lookeba, tells that much of the ranch fence was standing intact when he filed on this piece of land. Tom Collier, 90, Hydro, states that many rolls of barb wire were left scattered over the prairie and that they were the cause of many disputes among those who filed on the land.

[7] Val Burgman, Hydro, who worked as cowhand for the Oscar Sights camp furnished this information: Three year old steers would always weigh around 1200 pounds and that only 26 of this size animals were shipped in each car. It was not uncommon he said for Commission Companies to ship a trainload of 25 cars to market.

"Hank!" called out the rancher between spasms of pain, "take care of my cattle. That wild ride yesterday must have torn something loose inside me."

"But I can't leave you like this," said Hank.

"Don't worry, Cy will get me to the doctor at Geary," replied the sick man. "You take Shorty with you and tend those cattle like they were your very own. Here!" he called out, taking two slips of paper from his pocket, "These are your train passes home. We'll meet you at El Reno next Tesday."

So, with a wave of the hand and a look of real concern on their faces Hank Wilson and Shorty Carr climbed aboard the caboose at the end of the long train.

But the next Tuesday when Big Jim — then able to walk about — and Cy came to meet them only Shorty got off the train.

"Where's Hank?" called out Big Jim and Cy in almost the same breath.

"That's a long story," replied Shorty, "and it will be hard for you to believe me. Hank was very much concerned about you when we first left but during the nighttime hours he fell into an entirely different mood. Up and down the length of the car he paced, over and over again muttering to himself like a madman. The most I could understand was — 'the World has dealt me a wrong —'. Suddenly in his madness he stopped, faced me and said: 'The world has dealt me a wrong. Now is my chance to get even. My name is Jim Walker. I'm selling the cattle, putting the money in my pocket and heading for California."

"Of course," continued Shorty, "I didn't think he meant what he said but after the steers were unloaded we came back to the caboose for our things and it was then that Hank gave me a knockout blow on the back of the head. When I awoke some hours later I found that I had been bound up with a rope. Fortunately for me, a railroad yardman hearing my kicks and curses came in and set me free. I soon learned that Jim Walker had sold his trainload of steers and no one knew where he had gone. So I used my pass and came back here."

Stunned over this information Big Jim tried to reason out the cause of his nephew's unscrupulous action but the cowhands who had been tearing down fence were furiously angry.

"Easiest holdup, ever heard tell of!" spoke Cy. "Why, he didn't even have to pull a gun!"

"Boys!" said Big Jim, "We'll guard the shack a few nights. I have a suspicion that Hank will come by the house and family plot before starting to California. But understand, I want him taken alive."

And true to prediction two days later Hank rode in from the south around dusk. Dropping his horse's rein he entered the house where he was stopped by Shorty and Cy who had been waiting inside. From his pockets, they took papers showing the net price of the cattle was $43,000.[8] a bill of sale showed he had bought a horse, also a gun and saddle at Chickasha, Oklahoma. Twenty one thousand dollars was found in each saddle bag.

"Hank!" spoke up Big Jim. "Because you're my sister's son I'm giving you a chance. Take this thousand dollars, get on your horse and don't ever let me see you again."

As for Big Jim, he could have waited a few days for the drawing of free homes, but instead he headed for Montana where his money would buy a big spread with easy ranching.

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[8] From *The Daily Oklahoman* found in the Oklahoma Historical Society, the price of cattle was quoted 8¢ per pound, sometimes $5.90 per hundred all through the summer of 1901. At this price per pound, and the weight given of the steers, the sum given for net profit would be correct. Records of shipments were kept at the Stockyards Bank in Kansas City until a few years ago when they were destroyed. (Information from a Kansas City banker, 1960.)

LIFE IN THE CHEROKEE STRIP, OKLAHOMA TERRITORY

*By Lillian Carlile Swartz**

My father, Lincoln Carlile, was born November 11, 1860, near Canandaigua, New York. When a lad he was obliged to work out for a living after the untimely death of his father. About 1875, he went west, in a railway boxcar, to care for a farmer emigrant's two teams, a cow and some poultry, enroute from Canandaigua to the then pioneer town of Hastings, Nebraska.

My mother, Ada Coulter, was born July 4, 1861, near Coulterville, Illinois. In 1872, she moved with her parents to Lincoln and later to a pioneer homestead near Hastings, Nebraska. In that frontier town my father and mother courted and were married December 23, 1881. I was born January 7, 1883, at Hastings, Adams county, Nebraska.

While working in pioneer Nebraska, until his marriage, my father drove hacks for city travel and livery rigs for merchant salesmen. He was a thrifty worker, but near the end of the late 1880's western railroad boom he lost most of his savings, which he had invested in Hastings boom property. After that he farmed for six years into the early 1890's so called "hard times" were in full sway. Then, with poor crops, he scarcely had any property left when he decided to begin an entirely new farming effort on a pioneer homestead in the Oklahoma Cherokee Strip.

Through an associate, my father located a man who had staked a tract in the Strip and wanted to sell his claim instead of returning to live in that new country. He paid the man $30, sight unseen, for the quarter tract of woodland. When a lad, father had lived in the New York woods and, from those memories, he assumed that Oklahoma timber land would make a wonderful farm home. Although he was not cheated on the twenty-two

* This is an edited version of a pioneer history told by Lillian Carlile Swartz as she recalled her girlhood in the "Cherokee Strip" country of Oklahoma Territory, requested by Oklahoma's well known historian, Dr. Edward Everett Dale. The original manuscript was written in Mrs. Swartz's own words. The story was written during the Depression days in the 1930's, was approved and is filed with other pioneer stories in the Archives of the Oklahoma University Library.—Orvoe Swartz.

cents an acre land, he was sadly disappointed when he saw the scrubby timber.

When preparing to depart for Oklahoma, father sold or rather gave away his surplus stock and farm tools and loaded the needed items on a emigrant's railway car. That load included a cow, two teams and wagons, one pig, some poultry and household goods. He left Hastings March 7, 1894, and rode in the car to tend the animals. There were two stowaways in the car, hid behind bales of hay when the train stopped at towns along the way. The two were my mother's uncle Will Morrow and Frank Doremus. Frank came to improve his claim joining my father's new land.

They rode the slow freight train several days before arriving at the railway station closest to their "sooner" claims. That station was North Enid, which was also the nearest post office, and they still were twenty-five miles from their destination. At that office they saw settlers waiting in line two and more hours to get their mail. When they finished reloading the goods from the rail car to their wagons, they drove over a cross country trail mostly west and some south of Enid. It was late when they came to their journey's end at father's wooded claim about two miles in the jackoak timber from the open prairie.

With the stowaways helping, my father soon built a ten foot square log hut, with a shingle roof, one small window and a home made door. Our large iron cook stove, a table, cabinet (we called a sink), some chairs and our organ filled the hut so full the organ was kept outside, except when it rained.

With the hut finished, father drove sixty miles to the Alva Land Office to file on his land, which was the southwest ¼ of Section 9., T., 21 North, Range 9 W. Alva was then the county seat of "M" county, which was soon renamed Woods county. When Oklahoma became a state, that forty-eight by fifty-eight mile region was divided into Woods, Alfalfa and Major counties. This renaming placed our land in east Major county.

Mother and we four girls left Hastings on Friday, came by way of St. Joseph, Missouri, and Topeka, Kansas, and arrived at North Enid at 10:30, p.m., Saturday and spent the rest of that night in the depot. Sunday morning was March 25, which was also Easter Sunday, 1894. Before sunrise we went to a hotel for our breakfast and, according to my memory, it was the main hotel and maybe the only two story building in the town.

Then, after several inquiries, we found a graying gentleman, with an old team and wagon, to take us to father's new land. He loaded our baggage and we left North Enid around nine o'clock and drove through South Enid, as it was then called. It was over two miles south of the railway station and the larger of the two rival Enids. There we saw a variation of frame stores, shacks and tents in which families had lived all winter. At that time all trains refused to stop at South Enid, for there wes considerable antagonism and spite between the two contending towns.

From there we followed an old trail southwest and saw only a few small plots of plowed sod ready for planting to corn. When we had traveled several hours, we drew near the timber and stopped at two dugouts, but found no one at home. Later we came to a small frame house, just in the edge of the timber, where we saw Mr. and Mrs. Leroy Laribee in their yard. They directed us just over a mile farther on the trail where we caught our first sight of the hut where father and Uncle Will were batching.

They were not looking for us so soon, but surely were glad to see us. They invited our driver to eat beans with us while his team ate and had time to rest. Oh how good those beans tasted! It was past two o'clock p.m., and hours after our early and light breakfast. When the driver was ready to go back home, father paid him four dollars for bringing the five of us and our trunk and luggage out to our new homestead.

After supper that evening and many following nights, we piled goods up and made a bed on the hut's dirt floor clear across one end of the only room, although the bed accommodated our entire family of six. The organ was brought in when it rained. Then we could scarcely keep from trampling on each other while cooking and dining in such a small room. Uncle Will ate most of his meals at our place, but he stayed nights with Mr. Doremus and helped father days to chop and haul logs to build our larger log house later. They also made a brush fence around a large woods acreage to enclose pasture grass for the horses and cow.

By early April, the trees were well leafed out, many wild flowers were blooming and the grass was grown enough for the animals to have grazing food. It was noticeable how quickly people blazed trees on section lines and cleared the brush for the wagon roads. In a few weeks. the angling trail past our place was closed and

section roads were so we could drive most anywhere and we had to keep on section lines all the way to Enid.

For some time we hauled water in barrels around three miles for house use, and for the stock not led along when we went after water. At first most wells were dug with a pick and shovel, but before that summer's end father had a well drilled. It was cased with six inch galvanized tubing and we cranked a windlass that wound a rope to draw water. The rope lifted a galvanized bucket that resembled a three or four foot length of stove pipe that held around two and a half gallons of water.

There were many birds and flowers we had never seen where we lived in Nebraska, and numerous squirrels, we had not seen wild anywhere else. Also, we frequently saw as many as seven or more deer in a group. Eleven was the most we counted in any one herd. The deer had a path about thirty rods east of our hut where they traveled most every night during the first summer. We often saw them before sunrise going from the prairie back to the sand hills along the Cimarron river.

The time we saw the eleven deer was one evening when returning from a fishing trip on Deep Creek, across the Cimarron river. When father was making our pasture brush fence a doe and her tiny fawn stayed a few days on our place not many rods from where the men worked. When they went within her sight, she walked toward them stamping her feet, to shield her fawn. When three or four days old, the mother and fawn left.

We were told that a week-old fawn could outrun a horse. Mr. Jim Campbell, a neighbor who lived west of us, on Hoyle creek, had a pole stockade pen over ten feet high in which he had around twenty little fawns at one time. He meant to catch the fawns the first or second day old, before they could outrun a man. He aimed to sell or trade them wherever he could get family supplies.

We broke about twenty acres of our land the first spring and planted corn, maise, potatoes, melons and other garden. Father took our largest pumpkin to Waukomis and placed it on display in a store window. Some will not believe that it measured seven feet in circumference. The new land grew wonderful melons for several years, both in quantity and quality.

The youths and young parents gathered evenings at different homes for melon parties. They came in

(Photo taken, 1898)

THE FIRST HOME OF THE A. L. CARLILE FAMILY IN THE CHEROKEE STRIP, OLD WOODS COUNTY

(This location is in SW¼, Sec. 9, T. 21 N., R. 9 W., in present Major County)

large vehicle loads, with many folk in farm wagons. We often cut a wagon load of the best melons and only ate the hearts. Many melons weighed eighty and ninety pounds. Those parties fired much friendly merriment.

In June the men finished our new house, made of logs hewn on all sides. The log cracks were chinked and plastered and looked fairly nice. It was built in a "T," with no partitions and made the front 22 by 14 feet and on the back was the kitchen, made 14 by 14 feet. We had two doors and six windows and the floor was 1 by 6 inch hard pine boards and the roof had shingles on sheeted rafters. The new material all cost $85.00, the last money my parents brought from Nebraska. It was the largest log residence in the community.

A Sunday school was organized the autumn of 1894, and met alternately at four different pioneer homes the winter and spring of 1895. They were Mr. Maco's, Mr. Hankins's, Mr. Vance's and our place. We took our organ when the Sunday school was at the Mason home. The Vance and Hankins homes had an organ. Reverend S. Swartz heard of our Sunday school and preached Sunday morning at Vance's. Then the same afternoon that summer, following a second Sunday school, he preached at our house.

The first pioneer winter the young folk delighted in having oyster suppers at our house, and icecream parties later, because it was larger than other homes. Soon some wanted father to let them have dances, with the suppers, and he consented. They then had square dances and could run three sets at once. So with our organ and some of the boys bringing two or three violins, we always had plenty of music and clean, jolly times. To have three sets dancing, the kitchen stove and three bedsteads had to be moved outside, but we always had plenty of help to do the moving. At the first dance and later father told the boys that any roudiness would end the dances at our place. He kept his word when, over a year later, some of the young gents had a fight one night. That ended the dancing parties at our home.

In July 1894, a school meeting was held at our house and district 129, Woods county, was organized. There were no public school funds for the district that winter. Our first school was a subscription term held at Mr. Mason's home and taught by Clara Sproute who lived south of the Hoyle post office. It was a two months term with about fifteen pupils. Some of whom had no

books and those who had sets were ones from several states. That term was held the winter of 1894-1895.

Miss Ada Fyffe, in the district east of us, also held a subscription school, in her small dugout home, later that spring of 1895. The fee at her school, for my sister Nellie and me, was three dollars for six weeks. My father paid that amount by grubbing jackoak trees, for Miss Fyffe, ten hours a day for eighty-five cents per day and he took his own lunch.

The autumn of 1895, our district's pioneers donated worked and built a log house. I have its picture with most of our 1897-1898 term's pupils. Our first term at that log school was held three months, beginning in January 1896. The teacher was Mr. Dave Boyer, of Alvareta, who rode horse-back from his home eleven miles north of the school. The next winter we had another four months term taught by Mr. John Ott who also rode a horse from his home northeast of Hoyle.

The first funeral in our community was in 1894, after the demise of Mrs. Sam Burchfield, who left three young boys and two tiny girls. Their home was a cloth tent and the season was very hot. All the neighbors were moved to deep sorrow, because of the grieving father and heart-broken children. The deceased was a sister of our neighbors, Mr. Jacob and Charley Mason.

Another neighbor, Mr. Frank Gaylord, was a cabinet maker and had worked on Pullman cars and in a casket factory. When moving to Oklahoma, he brought a number of casket handles and he and my father made Mrs. Burchfield's casket and others needed in our community the first year. Those home-made caskets were covered outside with black calico and lined inside with muslin.

That summer and the next, we had cane that we stripped and cut with a cornknife. Then we hauled it to the Goodale cane-mill where it was ground and the juice boiled down to a half barrel of fine sorghum. Unable to afford other food sweetening, that amount always ran out before the next cane season. We also dried all the fruit to be had, for we did not have sugar to can fruit. We raised vegetables and stored all that could be sun dried. We gathered wild sand plums the first few years.

Although not a strictly religious service, the first community program was held at our log home December 25, 1895. Then, after having the Sunday school at the Mason home the summer of 1896, we had our next

(Photo taken, 1898)

THE FIRST SCHOOLHOUSE IN DISTRICT 129, OLD WOODS COUNTY (NOW IN MAJOR COUNTY, OKLAHOMA)

Seated to right, Dave Hinshaw, Teacher. Standing by doorway, to right are Lillian Carlile and Orvoe Swartz.

Christmas program at our log school house, which was first called the Rice district. From then, for several seasons, we had regular Sunday school and preaching there, and renamed it the Forest Home school and Sunday school.

Our home was on a busy route to Enid from the Cheyenne country's Cimarron river ford west of Hoyle, now Ames. Numerous freighters used this route and quite a few Indians traveled it past our home. Several men and teams lost their lives there attempting to ford the Cimarron during high floods. Often settlers would get that far and have to camp two or more days before they could ford the flooded stream. Sometimes their families would be at home with scarcely enough food to last until the drivers could get to Enid and return home with groceries.

Winter storms also caused the pioneers plenty of anxiety on trips to market. One winter day, when a number of neighbors went to Enid with loads of stove wood, a fierce polar blizzard caught them camped there over night. After finding ready sale for their wood, by mid-forenoon, the ones living in our direction decided to start home in a group, so no one would get lost. It was far below zero and they could not ride many minutes at a time without danger of freezing, so they walked on the south side of their wagons most of the twenty miles home. One man drank too much ale and the others made him walk to keep him from freezing his feet. All were glad to get home to roaring fires and hot food. The cash from wood hauling kept the wolf from many pioneer doors.

When living on scant rations, as most families did, father sold many loads of log wood from 75 cents to $1.00 to prairie pioneers who drove twenty and more miles after it. We also hauled many loads of cut stove wood, and some log wood, to Enid and received 60 or 75 cents for the former and $2.00 for the latter. When we took two loads, I drove one team and Father the other one, and we camped on the Enid square where we saw men who had camped two and three days before selling their loads.

The timber and prairie pioneers who, by some trade or scheme had a little cash could buy a fine grade of wheat flour as low as 75 cents for 48 pounds. But most pioneers, with several children, were glad to have even low grade flour and wheat graham or corn meal. The poor flour cost 50 cents for 48 pounds and the meal was

much cheaper. Then there were families much more destitute than the poor people of the 1930's depression. In the 1890 depression, we had neighbors who divided a quart of flour or meal until someone could take a load of wood to market and return home with groceries, which were mostly navy beans and meal. We always took two days to make a loaded trip the twenty miles, for our teams had only grass or hay and rarely any grain.

At first we could get our mail by neighbors going to North Enid and standing in line there an hour or more. Before a month we could have mail addressed to Enid in care of a box rented by a country merchant named John Rogers. All mail sent to that box was carried from there, by his freighters, to his store on the west edge of Garfield county. That store was soon named Concord and was just over six miles northeast of our place on the N. W. ¼ of sec, 31, T., 22, R., 8 West.

Earlier that year Mr. Rogers had a few groceries in a shack a mile west of there on the Kiowa and Hennessey trail where it crossed Elm Creek. While there and at Concord, outlaws with a gun each, robbed him of his sales money each time. These stickups frightened him so much that he hid five, ten and larger bills under bolts of cloth and canned goods, and forgot where he placed the money. One settler bought a 75 cent pair of overalls with a ten dollar bill in a pocket. Although he could have kept the money, he was an honest man and when returning the bill, Mr. Rogers was greatly delighted to have it back.

Late in April, 1894, a Star Mail Route was started from Enid west. It served Wilcox, nine miles west of Enid, at the Haskew store, Lahoma at the Higbee store, then near Turkey creek on the east edge of Woods county, and Concord on the west edge of Garfield county at the Rogers store and later at Lilly's store. The mail on that route was carried in an old-fashioned, heavy leather bag and was hauled in a one horse cart that was driven by either Jahalan Tyler or his wife, Mary. In crop time and some winter days, Mrs. Taylor hauled the mail bag as often as her husband.

According to U. S. postal records, the Lahoma Office was established January 22, 1894, with W. H. Higbee the first postmaster. The Concord office was established April 10, 1894, with B. F. Lilly the first postmaster. The spring of 1895, Mr. Dan B. Swartz drew a townsite plat for Thomas Wilson who staked and owned the N. W. ¼

of sec. 3, T. 22, R 9 West. That autumn, the Concord post office with Lilly's store was moved from its Garfield location to the Wilson townsite then in Woods county. The recorded date of the moving permit was issued November 27, 1895.[1]

After Concord's first move, from Garfield county one mile south and five miles west into Woods county, it was two and a half miles from our place. It might have become a booming town, but the railroad surveyed through there never materialized. In Concord's heyday, it had the Kilpatrick blacksmith shop, Jefferies General Mercantile store, Roper grocery and stone-burr meal mill, Wilson Grocery and post office, Dr. Grant's office with his batchelor's quarters and the George Jefferies residence. He later moved his home and store to Ringwood, around 1900.

While holding Sunday school and preaching at the Forest Home school house, Reverend Swartz obtained members, organized them and was their local minister part time for two years. It was the first Methodist Episcopal class in southeast Woods county or in near Garfield county. In 1898, Mr. Swartz and others canvased for subscriptions, over parts of four districts, to build a church sanctuary joining the Concord townsite.

With that church group's building plans well organized and worshiping every Sunday the operations were further led under the pastorate of Reverend Will Swartz. He had been a Kansas Methodist minister and, at Concord, was assisted by his father and others. They finished securing the numerous subscriptions in the Concord community. To hasten the project, Mrs. J. O. Fyffe donated an acre of land joining the Concord townsite's southwest corner for the church building grounds.

During that canvasing program, Mr. and Mrs. M. J. Coulter donated two acres, less than a half mile south of the church site, for what has since been known as the Concord Cemetery. That acreage was then squared and platted, by Dan Swartz, into 224, four by five grave lots and alleys and two entrance drives.

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[1] The names of Concord's postmasters, during its ten years of operation, are recorded as follows: Ben F. Lilly, apponted April 10, 1894; Lindsley Ball, appointed and declined August 15, 1896; Fred Roper, appointed September 11, 1896; Will Caldwell, appointed December 15, 1897; Tom F. Wilson, appointed December 20, 1898; Calvin W. Vance, appointed December 20, 1900; Thomas H. Case, appointed July 8, 1903. He removed Concord's stamps, cancel stick, name stamp and pad to his Hoyle Creek home where the office was discontinued February 29, 1904.

While completing the subscription list, a board of trustees was elected and served as the first Concord Church officials and building committee. Their names were G. W. Jefferies, A. L. Carlile and C. W. Swartz. The first Concord Cemetery trustees were the same church officials, with J. O. Fyffe and Allen Crow added. When a total of $500 was subscribed and plenty of donated work promised, the needed lumber was hauled at one time, from Enid, on six wagons to the building site.

Soon the church construction was begun, the spring of 1899, and proceeded according to a blueprint and specifications formerly used for a church Father Swartz helped build in pioneer Kansas. With Father Swartz directing specifications from memory, for the 40 by 60 foot structure, the church was made the largest and most durable building in that and joining localities in pioneer times. For over fifty years only the church remained to perpetuate the name of the once rousing burg called Concord, Oklahoma.

From this then active religious center and cultural climate went many youths eager for higher education to become teachers, mechanics, preachers and university graduates. Scarcely any of them returned to keep building the high religious fervor then so much a success in that pioneer community. Instead, most of Concord's graduates went elsewhere to make their mark in chosen pursuits, professions and productive achievements.

It was amid those pioneer youth interests that my sister's and my own Forest Home school program and Concord church environment kindled the romantic ties that led to our wedding day. We married Swartz brothers at a double wedding in our log home on Thanksgiving evening, 1901.

Much more could be related of the youth interests common to the several district's school programs, social parties and projects of other church groups joining the Concord region. Most of that pioneer history, however, is little more than a dim memory of those long past and still receding yesteryears. Even now only the silent cemetery remains to retain the Concord name of a once dugout, sod shanty, shack and log house pioneer homestead settlement.[2]

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[2] The old Concord Church has been moved six miles south and west to Ames. There it continues to serve as a Sunday School sanctuary adjoining the Methodist Church in this town.

In Concord's pioneer inauguration and the surrounding county's earlyday conflicts, many stories were circulated about two roving outlaws, named Yeager and Black. They occasionally committed some dark deeds, were quick on the draw and had big guns and itchy trigger fingers. Their reported hide-out was in the Glass Mountains west of the Cimarron river, but it was not unsuual for them to get a meal and lodging at some pioneer cowboy's dugout, log hut or shack on both sides of the Cimarron.

When they ventured into localities east of their hideouts, the display of their travel trappings and guns caused fear in some people living along their reported trail. We knew a reliable young claim holder, near Concord, named Will Townsend. His parents operated a rural store in the northeast Cheyenne country where his father became a fatal hold-up objecter and gun victim of Yeager and Black.

The fate of Mr. Townsend, a highly respected merchant of the Cheyenne country, proved the big blunder of their lawless careers. That blunder stirred the settlers what some called the maddest man-hunt in the history of this region. While trying to shoot their way out of and several marshals into such a fury they soon staged Yeager. Several days later, Yeager was mortally wounded when taking a day-light rest and snooze in a corn field southeast of Enid. There he began a lingering death that came in Enid's pioneer jail.

Still, even with other bandit pairs and gangs, roving from hide-outs farther east, of all the pioneers in a wide area joining our region only a few country merchants drew lead from their guns. Although some bandits were marked as notorious, for their bank hold-ups, train robberies and gun-toting violence, they did not menace the pioneer homesteaders. Few pioneer settlers took part in vicious gun-smoke depredations, and the glamorized screen picture does not depict true history.

Even if partly true during Oklahoma's wild oil-town booms, it was not true of the early pioneers in our region of the Cherokee Outlet or "Strip."

SENECA SUB-AGENCY, 1832-1838

By Frank H. Harris *

In the spring of 1831, a band[1] of Seneca Indians living near Sandusky, Ohio, resolved to remove to new homes, lying west of McDonald County Missouri. They hoped that by so doing, they would find lands unwanted by the whites, where they could better preserve their tribal integrity and where they would be relieved of the ever increasing pressure of, "white encroachment."

In February, 1831, the Seneca Sub-Agent, Captain Henry C. Brish, accompanied by five Seneca Chiefs and Headmen, visited the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington, to work out the details of the removal.[2] A portion of the Senecas under the leadership of Captain Brish, boarded

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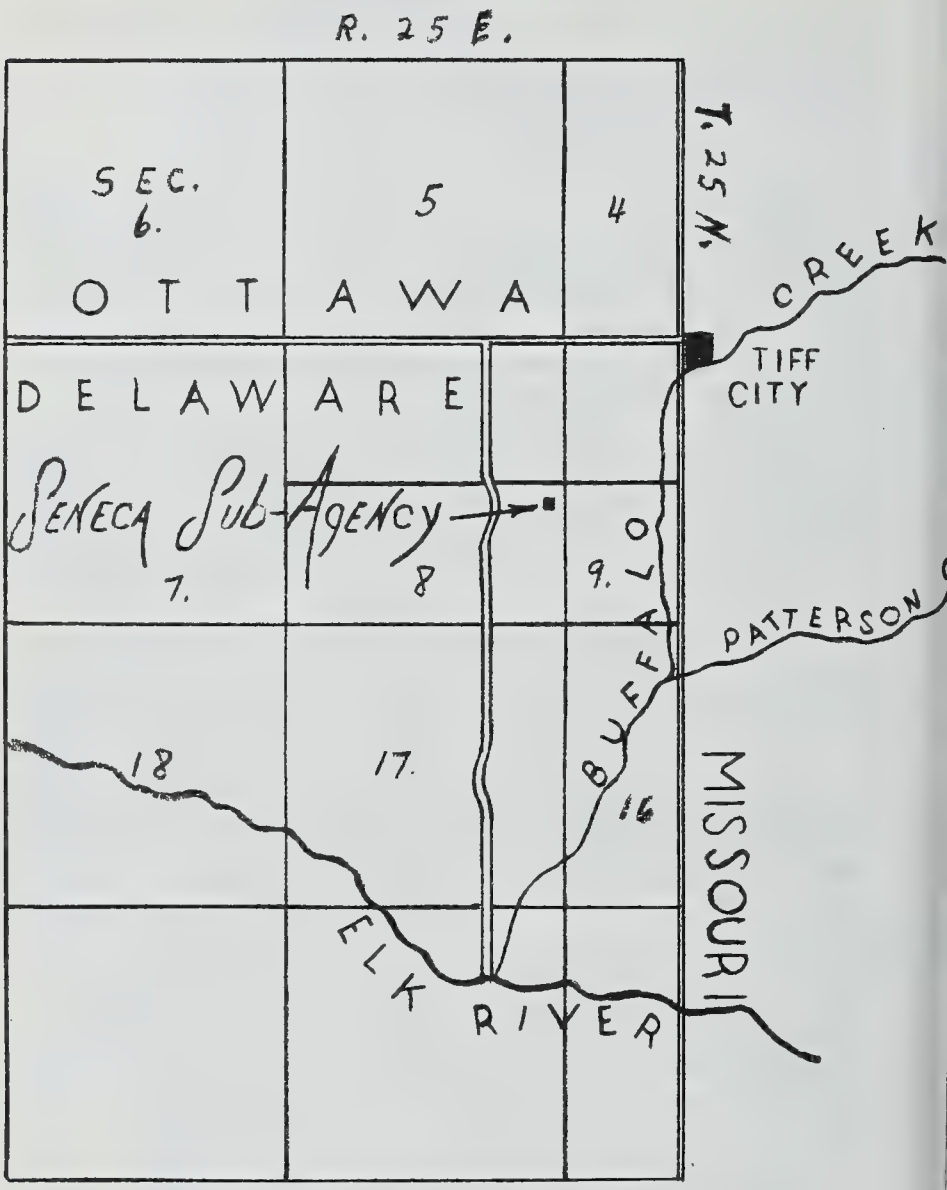
* Frank H. Harris served with the U. S. 101st Airborne Division (Paratroops) in World War II, after graduation (1939) from the Wyndotte High School, Ottawa County. He is Corresponding Secretary for the Ottawa County Historical Society, and his family home is in Miami, Oklahoma. Mr. Harris reports his great interest in field work tracing the old military roads in Ottawa County history and his discovery of three sites of the old Neosho Subagency, which have led to his reading and study of the original records on the agency subject. His sources have included a number of documents, either "Received" or "Sent" found in the National Archives at Washington, D.C. Documents "Received" (generally unpublished, except for microcopy) consist of correspondence sent to the commissioners of Indian Affairs at Washington through the years, from Indian superintendencies, agencies, schools and from individual white traders, Indians, frontier settlers and soldiers covering financial statements, vouchers, maps, fixed property statements, invoices and even early newspaper clippings. The "Letters Sent" from the Indian Office are generally in the form of "Letter Books," copied in longhand from the original correspondence of the different secretaries of War or the Indian commissioners through the same period of years. A check with the "Register of Letters Received" by the Office of Indian Affairs reveals that several very important letters and documents are now missing, and are presumably lost forever.__ Ed.

[1] This band, numbering 352, at the time of their arrival and settlement in what is now portions of Ottawa and Delaware Counties of Oklahoma, were thereafter referred to as the, "Senecas of Sandusky."

[2] Ohio Agency, John McElvain, Ohio Indian Agent to Samuel S. Hamilton, of Office of Indian Affairs, Feb. 10, 1831. Agent McElvain apologized to Col. Hamilton and stated: "Sub-Agent Brish acted on his own in accompanying the Seneca Chiefs to Washington and I am confident it must be perplexing to the Department to be pestered with Indians, during the setting of Congress." (Hereinafter the letters received from the various field Agencies, will be indicated by the name of that Agency, followed by the letter, "A".)



PLAT SHOWING SITE OF THE SENECA SUB-AGENCY ESTABLISHED 1832

The present Ottawa-Delaware County line is three miles north of the south boundary of the old Seneca Reserve. Thus, the site of the Seneca Sub-Agency (1832-38) is now in northern Delaware County, Oklahoma. Long before the time of the Civil War, Elk River west of the Indian Territory-Missouri line became known as the "Cowskin River," bordering the north edge of "Cowskin Prairie" which lay north and east of present Grove. The Oklahoma Historical Society now has erected the "Seneca Agency" historical marker on the east side of State Highway 10 where this highway crosses the Ottawa-Delaware County line, indicating the site of this old Agency ("Seneca Sub-Agency") 3½ miles southeast of this Oklahoma roadside marker. This historic site in Oklahoma is about ½ mile southwest of Tiff City, Missouri.

boats at Dayton, Ohio and landed at St. Louis, Missouri, on November 16, 1831. This party then proceeded by land as far as Troy, Missouri, where winter conditions forced them to halt and make camp.

The other party, led by Agent McElvain, proceeded overland to the Indiana line where he became ill. He then left his party in charge of George Herron, the Seneca Interpreter, and returned to his Agency at Columbus, Ohio. This party struggled to within ten miles of Muncie, Indiana, where bad roads and winter conditions also forced them to halt.[3] Conductor Brish, learning of the plight of the land party, left his party of Senecas near Troy, in charge of a "Mr. Merritt," and returned to Indiana to assist the group.

It was spring of 1832, before Captain Brish was finally able to unite the two groups. Realizing his need of an able guide, to assist in the removal of the Senecas the remaining distance to their new homes, Captain Brish asked General William C. Clark,[4] Superintendent of the St. Louis Superintendency, for the aid of W. Augustine Kennerly.[5] General Clark promptly dispatched Major Kennerly to the aid of Conductor Brish.

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[3] McElvain to Hamilton, Nov. 15, 1831 and Dec. 10, 1831. Agent McElvain accompanied the Senecas but a short distance, when they began to make known their dislike for him. Agent McElvain stated, "They insisted on hunting and are tardy in their movements. They wish to resume the journey in their own way. They are good hunters and will eat well."—*Ibed.*

[4] General Clark, (1770-1838) was born in Virginia. He was famous as a partner of Capt. Meriwether Lewis, on an expedition to the mouth of the Columbia River. He was appointed Brigadier General over the Louisiana Territory in 1807. He was Governor of the Missouri Territory from 1813 to 1821 and was made Federal Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, (1822-1838).

[5] Cherokee West A. Supt. Clark to Elbert Herring, Indian Dept. Washington, March 1, 1832; Clark to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, Aug. 14, 1832; Clark to Cass, Dec. 4, 1832. Speaking of Mr. Kennerly, Clark stated, "The Senecas need the assistance of a man who possesses their confidence and who has acquired some previous knowledge of the discord which exists between them. Major Kennerly possesses a knowledge of the country lying between them and their new homes, of which Capt. Brish knows very little. These unruly and turbulent Indians have by their own misconduct increased the difficulties of their removal." The opinions expressed by the various Indian Officials, seemed to reflect the attitude of the Administration in Washington toward the Indians. That same Administration, demonstrated time and again that it was willing to usurp the rights of a weaker people, in order to promote the interests of its greedy favored citizens. The land speculators were the true benefactors of the Seneca removal, and they wasted no time in trying to grab for themselves the lands the Senecas had vacated.

Unfortunately, 1831 was the year uncommonly scarce of foodstuffs. David Bailey, the contractor for subsisting the Senecas was forced to send wagons to Cincinnati, Ohio, in order to obtain flour. Corn meal was also difficult to obtain and to add to his expenses, he lost several wagon loads of provisions while crossing swollen streams. Mr. Bailey hired George W. Null, Campbell McFarlan, William Frazier and Smith Giles, all from near Troy, Missouri, to assist him in procuring supplies and in handling the teams and beef stock.[6]

The party after experiencing numerous difficulties of incessant rain, scarcity of food supplies and several deaths, reached their new homes July 4, 1832. The new arrivals, numbering 352, made camp on the southwest quarter of section 5, Township 25 North, Range 25 East, in the present Ottawa County, on high ground and near a good spring of water.[7] It was here that Contractor Bailey and his assistants built a depot for storing the Seneca provisions, with a smoke-house and slaughter pens nearby. The provisions consisted of barrels of salt pork, flour, corn meal and a quantity of fresh beef. Most of the provisions were secured from Harmony Mission, Missouri and from Union Mission in the Cherokee Nation.[8]

The Senecas, as a group, remained here for only a few days, however, when they scattered to the choice sites along the creeks and streams where some began to build log houses. A village, at first called, "Seneca Village," was soon formed near the cold waters of Buffalo Creek and near the northern banks of the Cowskin River.[9]

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[6] *Ibid*, David Bailey to Clark, March 14, 1833. Mr. Frazier and Mr. Giles, while under oath, answered lengthly questionaires relative to the dealings of Mr. Bailey.

[7] *Ibid*, Lieut. J. Van Horne, Disbursing Officer for Subsistence of Indians to L. Cass, Secretary of War, June 27, 1833, *loc. cit.* This land was promptly named, "Clark's Prairie," obviously in honor of Gen. William C. Clark, the superior of Major Brish and Mr. Kennerly.

[8] Hope Holway, "Union Mission, 1826-1837," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Vol. XL, No. 4 (Winter, 1962-63).

[9] Van Horne to Cass, Aug. 1, 1833, *op. cit.* There had also been a "Seneca Village" before the Senecas had left Ohio. This village here in the new tribal reserve was referred to as "Seneca Mills." after the erection of a grist and sawmill in 1834-1835.

One of the articles of the contract made between Sub-Agent Brish and the Indian Department in 1831, provided that he would assist and guide the Senecas to their new homes west and there remain with them for one year. During this time, he was to act as their Agent, for $1200.00 per annum.[10] Capt. Brish, however on August 31, 1832, tendered his resignation to General Clark, and highly recommended Augustine Kennerly to fill the vacancy. Major Brish, had revealed to General Clark, in St. Louis, while the Senecas were at Troy, Missouri, that he would resign as soon as he had conducted them to their new homes. He was not at all pleased with many of the aspects of the removal but felt that he had done all he could for the Senecas, under the existing circumstances. At the time of his leaving he stated: "The Senecas are now comfortably fixed and pleased with the prospects before them. I am now anxious to return to the comforts of my home."[11]

General Clark then appointed Augustine Kennerly[12] to fulfill the vacancy of Seneca Sub-Agent, whose pay was to become retroactive to July 1, 1832. When Mr. Kennerly joined the Senecas at Troy, Missouri, he brought along his friend Baptiste Peoria, to act as his interpreter.[13] Later

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[10] Letters S., Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Letter Book 7:189—pp. 377-379. Hamilton to McElvian, Sept. 6, 1831; Ohio A. Brish to Hamilton, Sept. 20, 1831; J. B. Gardner, Special Indian Commissioner to Cass, Sept. 7, 1831. The Seneca Chiefs in a petition to Lewis Cass, complained that Agent McElvain wished to accompany them to their new homes, while they would accept no other but Capt. Brish. They also stated that Mr. McElvain had refused to furnish them with the funds promised them for their journey rather than to accompany him, "we will remain where we are until we are pushed from our homes."

[11] Cherokee West A., Clark to Cass, Aug. 14, 1832; Brish to Clark, Aug. 31, 1832.

[12] *Ibid.* John Miller, of St. Louis Superintendency to Cass, July 28, 1832. Mr. Kennerly received good recommendations from Mr. Miller and Gen. Clark, who described him as: "A gentleman of intelligence and of the first standing and respectability of character. He is from St. Louis, Missouri and has been employed in the Indian Department for several years." —*Ibid.*

[13] Central Superintendency. Enoch Hoag, Superintendent of Central Superintendency to Edward P. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Sept. 17, 1873.

St. Louis Superintendency. Clark to Herring, February 28, 1835.

The amount due Mr. Peoria was $90.75. That the service rendered by Chief Peoria, was much appreciated by Supt. Hoag and Commissioner Smith, was demonstrated by the unusual notification of his death, on Sept. 12, 1873. Chief Peoria was buried in the old Peoria Cemetery, here in Ottawa County. The oldest of several of his descendants, is Mr. Willis McNaughton of Miami, Oklahoma.

(Hereinafter, the letters received from the various field Superintendencies, will be indicated by the name of that Superintendency, followed by the letter, "S").

Kennerly regretted this, for when his final accounts were settled in 1833, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, withheld from his salary enough to pay Mr. Peoria for his services.

The desire of the Senecas, to rid themselves of white encroachment, was never fulfilled. Sub-Agent Kennerly's first official act was to remove several families of whites, living on Seneca lands. Two of them had a sawmill located near the mouth of Patterson Creek,[14] where they were destroying the public timber in Missouri as well as that on the Seneca lands. Following this they seized every opportunity available to make trouble for Mr. Kennerly and spread unpalatable stories about him to the Senecas, in order to turn them against their Agent. These trouble makers kept a large supply of whiskey on hand, of which they surreptitiously traded to some of the Senecas for their much needed supplies, such as ploughs, hoes, guns, blankets and even their clothes.[15] The whites living near the Missouri line were described by Lieutenant Van Horne, Disbursing Officer of the Senecas as, ". . . people of the worst hue, most of whom are leagued together, and it has been found impossible to convict them by the testimony of white persons. Their aim is to get the annuities from the Senecas with any means possible. One murder has already occurred since my arrival. . . . The only solution that I can see is to remove them at least twenty miles from the Missouri line."

The Seneca Chiefs and Headmen, Small Cloud Spicer, Seneca John, Isaac White, John Wiping Stick, John Skye, Jacob Richley and Little Town Spicer, petitioned their White Father in Washington, to promptly fulfill his part of the Treaty made in 1831. The Senecas were much in need of farming implements and harness for their work horses. They also wanted the construction of their grist and saw-mills, promised them in 1831, to begin at once. They were sure their White Father would remove the troublesome whites living near the Missouri line, who persisted in selling whiskey to their young men.

Sub-Agent Kennerly, for a while lived in a log shack, hurriedly put together by David Bailey for his own use. Superintendent Clark authorized him to spend $150, with which he was to have built an Agency house. The Sub-

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[14] Neosho A. R. A. Callaway, Neosho Indian Agent to Carey A. Harris, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 20, 1838.

Patterson Creek was named in honor of John Patterson, a respected Missouri citizen, who was one of the first white men to settle near that creek.

[15] Cherokee West A., Lieut. Van Horne to Cass, Aug. 1, 1833.

Agent then made a verbal contract with Mr. Bailey to build an Agency House with living quarters attached. Near the first of October, Mr. Kennerly visited his home in St. Louis, where he bought a team and wagon, loaded a few household possessions and returned with his family to the partially constructed Agency house. On the day of arrival, December 10, 1832, he took possession of the structure and moved his family and possessions into the living quarters. The inside walls and ceiling were not finished, but he had no other place to house his family.

Mr. Bailey presented his claim, for erection of the Agency House to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, on January 3, 1833. Instead of costing $150 as authorized by Superintendent Clark, the claims for erecting the buildings amounted to $500. Colonel Bailey described his buildings as: "A hewed log dwelling house with two rooms, each 18 feet square on the lower floor, separated by a hallway ten feet in length. The appertures between the logs poured in the usual best manner. Covered with long shingles well nailed on; plank upper and lower floors, plank doors and attached to the house are two good chimneys, one at each end of the house—also a kitchen, and a corn crib."[16]

Mr. Bailey employed his friends, William Frazier and George Null from Troy, Missouri, as well as Benjamin F. Warner, a Seneca Indian, to erect the Agency buildings. The buildings were criticized by some as being roughly built and unfinished, but Sub-Agent Kennerly defended them as being: "Adequate for me if it does seem to be insufficient to meet the delicate tastes and wants of others." General Clark had known David Bailey for twenty years. He had been pleased with Mr. Bailey's handling of a number of contracts awarded to him under his own and Secretary Cass's supervision. He had no cause to doubt Mr. Bailey's integrity in the present trivial contract and readily

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[16] St. Louis S., Clark to Cass, January 16, 1833; Kennerly to Clark, Dec. 15, 1832.

Cherokee West A. Bailey to Clark, Dec. 10, 1832.

Neosho A. Bailey to Carey A. Harris, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Jan. 12, 1838.

Situated at a point about 50 yards from the East line and about 80 yards from the North line of the Southeast quarter of Section 8, Range 25 East and Township 25 North, in Delaware County, Oklahoma.

The site of the Seneca Sub-Agency was fairly easy to rediscover. In subsequent correspondence, we find it was located near a good spring of water, within one-half mile of the mouth of Patterson Creek and not far from Clark's Prairie. The spring of water, has never gone dry, to anyone's knowledge, although it does not put forth a large amount of water. The site where the Sub-Agency buildings stood is presently owned by Mr. J. W. Williams.

recommended to Secretary Cass that the account should be paid as rendered.[17]

On December 13, 1832, Conductor Daniel M. Workman[18] and Disbursing Officer, Lieutenant J. F. Lane, delivered 220 mixed Seneca and Shawnees, from Lewistown, Ohio, to Sub-Agent Kennerly. The 60,000 acres they were to occupy, lay west of the Neosho River, and immediately south of the Kansas line. The Seneca and Shawnee Chiefs, accompanied by Mr. Workman and Lieutenant Lane, examined the lands assigned them and decided that they were unsuitable for Indian use. Lane reported they were, "too barren of timber to suit the tastes of the Indians." He then sent a petition of the Seneca and Shawnee Chiefs, along with his own request, to a newly formed Board of Commissioners at Fort Gibson, to exchange the lands assigned to them, for the same amount of land lying immediately north of that of the Senecas of Sandusky.

This Board of Commissioners, appointed by John Robb, Acting Secretary of War, was composed of three regular Commissioners and a Secretary.[19] They were given the power to adjust Indian differences and to make new treaties when needed, subject to the final approval of Congress and the President. The three members, all prominent easterners, were, Henry L. Ellsworth, Reverend John F. Schermerhorn and Governor Montford Stokes. Samuel C. Stambaugh, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was appointed Secretary of the Board.[20] Lieutenant Lane's letter reached the Commissioners at Fort Smith, and they immediately took

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[17] *op. cit.* Gen. Clark to Lewis Cass, January 16, 1833.

[18] Ohio Agency Emigration. Microfilm document numbers, 191-235 Workman's Journal of Occurrences, Aug. 20—Dec. 13, 1832.

This so-called, Mixed Band," of Indians had intermarried near Lewistown, Ohio and were thereafter referred to as, "Seneca & Shawnees," or, "Seneca and Shawnees of Lewistown."

[19] Letters Sent. Letter Book, 9:189, pp. 82, 94-95, 366.

[20] Letters Sent. Letter Book, 7:189, p. 386.

Henry Ellsworth (1791-1859) was from Windsor, Connecticut. He was a twin brother of William Ellsworth, Governor of Connecticut and the son of Oliver Ellsworth, a member of the Continental Congress, who suggested that our country be called, "United States." Reverend John Schermerhorn, was from Utica, New York. He resigned his Parochial duties there to accept the work of Commissioner and at the dissolution of the Board of Commissioner, returned to that position. Montford Stokes, was Ex-Governor of North Carolina. When the Board of Commissioners dissolved, he stayed in the Indian Country, where he continued to do some work as Indian Commissioner, and he became Cherokee West Agent, at the death of Agent George Vashon.

Samuel C. Stambaugh, had been Indian Agent for the Menominee Indians at Green Bay, Wisconsin, in 1830-31. In 1851, he acted as Attorney for the Old Settlers or Western Cherokees, and helped them to receive their money from the Government.

steps to comply with the request. Governor Stokes had not as yet arrived, when the other three members departed for the Seneca Sub-Agency.

Because of his friendship with General Clark, Sub-Agent Kennerly was much opposed to the prospect that his Sub-Agency would now also come under the jurisdiction of the newly appointed Commissioners. The Commissioners arrived at the Sub-Agency on, December 26, 1832 and were greeted cooly by Mr. Kennerly. He refused to give them lodging at his Agency, stating, "it was too small and he did not believe they could obtain quarters in the Settlement, or feed for their horses.[21]" The Commissioners then looked for lodging in another part of the settlement, which they found in a deserted cabin left by Mr. Chouteau, a trader. Before retiring for the night the Commissioners employed Benjamin Warner, to act as their guide, to examine the lands lying north of the Senecas, before offering it to Senecas and Shawnees. Lieutenant Lane, who spent the night with John Patterson, passed the Sub-Agency the next morning, for the purpose of taking with him the guide. Lane was met at the door by Mr. Warner and informed that he could not fulfill his contract, as Mr. Kennerly, with whom he had temporary employment, threatened to dismiss him if he accompanied the Commissioners. The Commissioners complained: "We were compelled to proceed alone to explore a strange country with no guide but a pocket compass."

The Commissioners spent one day in council with the Seneca and Shawnees, working out the details of the land exchange and in listening to various complaints of the chiefs, concerning their needs of implements and tools promised by the Government. The Commissioners reported that, "The Senecas complained of delays in the payment of their annuities by their Sub-Agent and of the manner in which Contractor Bailey handled their subsistence rations." They also listened to charges made against Sub-Agent Kennerly, by the disgruntled whites living near the Seneca Settlement.

The last evening of their stay on the Seneca lands, the Commissioners received a note of reconciliation, from Sub-Agent Kennerly, in which he stated:[22]

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[21] Western S.. S. C. Stambaugh for Henry Ellsworth and John Schermerhorn to Elbert Herring, January 10, 1833.

[22] *Ibid.* Sub-Agent Kennerly to Commissioners Ellsworth and Schermerhorn and Secretary Stambaugh, Dec. 28, 1832.

To the Indian Commissioners present,

To the Commissioners, Messrs. Ellsworth and Schermerhorn; also to Mr. S. C. Stambaugh, Secretary.

Gentlemen:

A misunderstanding exists between yourselves and me, which, on my part, was not intended.

If you think proper, I will shake hands with you, and remember it as such, no longer. Your decision in this matter [if] on the principal of FRIENDSHIP, will be PLEASANTLY KNOWN to, by calling upon ME at my humble HUT this evening (sundown) and take, Tea. December 28th. 1832

Respectfully
Aug. Kennerly
Acting U. S. Ind. Agt.

The Commissioners not only ignored the note, but also compiled a long list of charges against Mr. Kennerly, the weight of which helped remove him from office. They also made charges of fraud, corruption, inefficiency and inattention of duty against Contractor Bailey. Superintendent Clark denounced the charges made by the Commissioners, and stated:[23]

. . . With regard to the charges of fraud against Col. Bailey in the weight of beef, I consider them sufficiently refuted by the testimony adduced by him—and even without this refuting evidence I could not have placed any reliance upon the truth of the charge, considering its origin, and I believe that were the Commissioners as well acquainted with the character of that individual for integrity, liberality and fair dealing, they would have been equally incredulous." "- - - there are few men in this State, or elsewhere, whose standing is on a firmer base than that of David Bailey.

In January 1833, William Douglass won the new contract for subsisting the Senecas. The Commissioners specific charges against the pair were:

. . . In a subsequent conversation Mr. Kennerly informed Mr. Douglass that he would take provisions, from the Rations furnished the Indians, sufficiently to support his family. To this demand, Mr. Douglass remarked that he was bound to furnish a certain number of Rations to the Indians, and that if he (Mr. Kennerly) converted any part of them afterwards, to his own use, he could not prevent it. Mr. Kennerly replied, that he had done so before, and he was determined to do so again.

It appears by testimony before the Commissioners. that after the new contract was given to Mr. Douglass, a Mr. Frazier, who had been hired, with Col. Bailey as an assistant in Supplying his Contract, offered his services to Mr. Douglass and said if he would give him *twenty dollars* a month, he would save him *five* hundred dollars in the weight of beef alone! Mr. Douglass asked how that was done—to which Frazier replied, "by leaving the neck and back bone on one quarter, then weighing that quarter and averaging the others by it." This he said, was always done in weighing the beef,

[23] St. Louis S. Gen. Clark to Elbert Herring, March 25, 1833.

during Col. Bailey's contract, and was approved of by the Sub-Agent, Mr. Kennerly, who issued it to the Seneca Indians. These charges are corroborated by the testimony of respectable persons residing in the vicinity of the Seneces, who declare that they have seen the Beef weighed as above stated; which in an ox weighing *five hundred*, would make a difference, in false weight, of at least *one hundred pounds*.

From Secretary Stambaugh's report to Commissioner Herring, made following to the Commissioner's visit to the Seneca lands, it would seem that Commissioners Ellsworth and Schermerhorn and Secretary Stambaugh, acted in friendly unison and harmony. Nearly one and one-half years later however, Stambaugh well remembered his last night spent in the Seneca lands, and his true attitude was now revealed, when he wrote:[24]

> ... The first Treaty negotiations of the Commissioners, was the arrangements made with the Seneca & Shawnees. I believe that I might adduce some incontestable proof to show that my services were of *some* importance even in that "little arrangement." And I apprehend, too, that it will not be charged as a "neglect of duty" that I drew up that Treaty *after night*, and made out duplicate copies of it, in order that it might be executed next day (Saturday) in time to allow us to reach "Hopefield Mission[25]," *thirty miles distant*, so that the Reverend Mr. Schermerhorn might *not be guilty of the sin of traveling on the Sabbath day!!!* To gratify Mr. Schermerhorn in this, I labored that night without closing my eyes, whilst he was sleeping soundly in his bed; and I did it under vexatious circumstances, too, as I was much annoyed by various alterations & realterations respecting its verbage, suggested by Mr. Ellsworth, for no object that I could perceive, but to make *his style* perceptible in part of the Treaty.

From the time of their first business transaction, relations between the Commissioners and their Secretary became further strained.[26] Commissioners Ellsworth and

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[24] Western S. S. C. Stambaugh to Gov. Stokes, May 17, 1834.

[25] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Hopefield Mission in Osage Nation, 1823-1837", *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2.

[26] S. C. Stambaugh to Col. Arbuckle, Commander of Fort Gibson, May 3, 1834. Sec'y. Stambaugh's 55 page letter to Col. Arbuckle, charged Commissioner Ellsworth with speculation with the public funds and peculation. Of Rev. Schermerhorn, he said: "Bigoted and opinionated, he seldom transacted the most trifling business without giving offense." Rev. Schermerhorn accused Gov. Stokes and Sec. Stambaugh of gambling and inefficiency of office. Col. Arbuckle resented the recommendation by Comm. Ellsworth and Schermerhorn, of the preference of Fort Smith to Fort Gibson, as a permanent garrison on the Arkansas frontier. Including affadavits of Col. Arbuckle and several Officers stationed at Fort Gibson, the charges and counter-charges number about 325 pages. The testimony of each of these highly successful business-men refutes the testimony of the other, and the controversy in itself would be of little historical significance, were it not for the wealth of detail thus revealed.

Schermerhorn became good friends, and made up a quorum that transacted a majority of the business. Secretary Stambaugh became bitterly antagonistic to these two, while Governor Stokes preferred to be friendly to all, but finally chose to be allied with Secretary Stambaugh.

On January 3, 1833, Colonel Arbuckle, Commander of Fort Gibson, sent Lieutenant R. H. Ross to the Seneca Sub-Agency, to superintend[27] the issue of rations and annuities to the Indians located there. Sub-Agent Kennerly was informed by letter from General Clark, dated March 20, 1833, that his functions as Sub-Agent had ceased. The letter was received at the Agency on April 30, 1833. Col. David Bailey said of Sub-Agent Kennerly:[28]

> The Sub-Agent Major Kennerly was placed under peculiar disadvantages—He was compelled by an act of duty to remove what few good citizens that were squatters on the Indian Land—and also to contend with a set of rascals that had located themselves there to conceal their stolen treasures, some of whom I knew had left Missouri with horses not their own—and as he the Sub-Agent in doing his duty regardless of consequences, he incurred their displeasure, and they removed from under his jurisdiction—and then tried all means to create dissatisfaction among the Indians—and to sow their minds against their Agent and all other honest men who came within their knowledge—
>
> It is no difference who is sent there as Agent, if he follows his instructions promptly given him by any officer of government, and will not wink at the rescality practiced on the Indians by a certain set residing in there vicinity he will become unpopular— and their united forces will be raised against him, and charges will be preferred—and of course must be removed as he stands alone—View the charges now preferred against Maj. Kennerly which in my opinion are malicious as I never did discover anything in his conduct but what was honorable and correct—acting perfectly consistent with the interest of the Indians—and I found he had many enemies before I left the Agency, because he would not abandon their interests—If he would have consented to become Subservient to the will of the few, he might have been now basking in the sunshine of popularity.

Lieutenant Ross performed the duties of Sub-Agent from the date of Mr. Kennerly's release, until June 18, 1833, at which time he was relieved by Lieutenant J. Van Horne. While acting as Sub-Agent, Ross contracted with Benjamin Warner, to build a stable, kitchen and smokehouse, for the sum of $40.00. The kitchen was attached to the Agency House. Ross reported the building proper was, "unfinished and nearly uninhabitable," and that he would, "put it in order."[29]

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[27] Cherokee West A., Lieut. Ross to Elbert Herring, Dec. 11, 1833.

[28] *Ibid.* David Bailey to William Clark, March 16, 1833.

[29] *Ibid.* Lieut. Ross to Elbert Herring, May 28, 1833; December 11, 1833.

Lieutenant Van Horne performed the duties as Sub-Agent, for the Senecas for exactly one year. His duties also included that of acting as Disbursing Officer, for all the Indian tribes under the jurisdiction of the Western Superintendency. He felt that the Senecas should be furnished a resident Agent, who could devote all his time to their needs. Although urged by Supt. Clark to continue the duties of Seneca Sub-Agent, he declined to do so and stated, "these duties of Sub-Agent are annoying and vexatious as well as disagreeable and the Agency is remote from society and the means of living uncomfortable."[30]

The duties of Seneca Sub-Agent, now fell to Captain George Vashon, who was the acting Cherokee West Agent. His agency was located near Fort Gibson and was nearly one hundred miles from the Senecas. Agent Vashon performed these duties as best that he could but felt that he was already overburdened with the existing problems facing the Cherokees. Agent Vashon visited the Seneca Sub-Agency in December, 1835, to adjust some problems concerning a newly built gristmill. He became ill while there and died January 2, 1836. His body was returned to Fort Gibson and buried with military honors due to his former rank in the army.[31]

In March, 1836, Lewis Cass, appointed Gov. Montford Stokes, to act as Sub-Agent for the Cherokees West and also for the Indians of the Seneca Sub-Agency. The business arrangement for this Agency, was at this time, in a sad state of confusion. The business of the Cherokee Agency, was done in the house of Mr. Loony Price, a Cherokee. The Agent was cooped up in one bed room 14 x 16 feet, with one small letter case and his own table and chairs. The Cherokee papers were in one corner of the room, the Seneca papers in another, the Seneca & Shawnee papers in another, and the Quapaw papers in the fourth corner. The Agent had no clerk or other assistant, yet his public business required more work than that of some superintendencies and more than that of some of the smaller States of the Union.[32] When Agent Vashon died in the Seneca Agency, his papers were bundled and safely delivered to Colonel Arbuckle at Fort Gibson. Colonel Arbuckle stored them at Mr. Price's place, where someone rifled them and destroyed or removed several bundles. The papers were stored in two

[30] *Ibid.* Lieut. Van Horne to Elbert Herring, Sept 2, 1835.

[31] *Ibid.* Col. Arbuckle to Adjutant General, R. Jones, Jan. 5, 1836; William Armstrong, Supt. Western Territory to Elbert Herring Jan. 25, 1836.

[32] *Ibid.* Gov. Stokes to Carey A. Harris, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington D.C. August 20, 1836, Sept. 10, 1836, *Ibid.*

large trunks and a wooden box, and were in a terrible condition. Among them was former Agent Vashon's private correspondence to his wife and children in Virginia, dealing with the latter's progress in school.[33] Although these papers were public property, Agent Stokes was obliged to purchase them in order to gain their possession.

Francis W. Armstrong was the first Acting Superintendent for the Western Superintendency and was during this time also Agent for the Choctaw Indians. When he died on August 6, 1835, he was replaced by his brother, Captain William Armstrong. Captain Armstrong continued to hold this office until his death on June 13, 1847. He became ill with a, "billious colic that turned to yellow jaundice, of which was accompanied by inflammation of the stomach."[34] The vacancy was at this time filled by Samuel M. Rutherford on July 12, 1847.

Sub-Agent Stokes had never been pleased with the duties required of him. He pleaded with his superiors to build him an Agency House and to remove several irksome regulations governing the Agency. Superintendent William Armstrong stated that, "Gov. Stokes is too old to efficiently superintend the payment of annuities of the tribes under the Seneca Sub-Agency." He also stated, ". . . the distance is too great for Gov. Stokes to properly attend to the business of these small tribes, and they should have a resident Sub-Agent of their own."[35] The Seneca annual payments from the government, amounted to $1000.00, the Seneca & Shawnees received $1000.00 and the Quapaws received $2000.00.

The Chiefs and Headmen of the three Indian tribes, under the jurisdiction of the Seneca Sub-Agency, sent numerous requests to the Commissioners at Washington, to afford them with a resident Agent. They protested that they were being neglected from the want of an Agent. They had no one to uphold their rights against the unlawful aggressions of the whites. The whites allowed their horses and cattle to trespass on the Indian pastures and they were known to borrow the Indian horses without their owners' consent. The Indians were unacquainted with the laws of the whites, and therefore had no mode of redress.[36]

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[33] *Ibid.* Gov. Stokes to Elbert Herring, April 18, 1836, *Ibid.*

[34] Western S. Clerk, John B. Luce to Commissioner William Medill, June 13, 1847.

[35] *Ibid.* Supt. William Armstrong to Comm. Carey A. Harris, March 30, 1837.

[36] *Ibid.* Lieut. Van Horne to Comm. Harris, March 23, 1837.

Commissioner, Carey A. Harris, convinced that the three small tribes of Indians, were in need of a resident Agent, appointed Colonel Alexander S. Walker on May 26, 1837, to fulfill these duties. Colonel Walker accepted the appointment and proceeded from Little Rock, Arkansas, toward the Seneca lands. He visited Captain Armstrong, of the Western Superintendency, to get his final instructions, before proceeding to the Seneca lands. He then stopped at Fort Gibson, to visit Cherokee West Agent Stokes and to thereby become better acquanted with his new duties. While there he was able to make a, "statement of funds remitted," for the Seneca Agency and to transact a few other necessary tasks. Colonel Walker, while at Fort Gibson, became ill and after an illness of four days, died on July 14, 1837.[37]

The duties of Seneca Sub-Agent, now reverted to Cherokee West Agent, Stokes, who reluctantly fulfilled until January 13, 1838. Commissioner Harris then appointed, Robert A. Callaway, as Seneca Sub-Agent, on December 1, 1837, who arrived on the Seneca lands from Little Rock, Arkansas, nearly six weeks later. The Indians under this Sub-Agency, from the moment of Mr. Callaway's arrival, until a period during the Civil War, were better protected and supervised than at any time since the departure of Sub-Agent Kennerly.

Sub-Agent Callaway, as former Sub-Agent Kennerly had previously done, almost immediately made enemies of some troublesome whites, living near the Missouri line. He ordered, W. Archibald Wilson, a Cherokee Indian, to remove his stock of trading goods from the limits of the Seneca Nation, or to face the prospect of a fine and the possible confiscation of his goods. Mr. Wilson had set up a trading house near Buffalo Creek, without the benefit of a, "Trader's License."[38]

Commissioner John Schermerhorn, on May 13, 1833 completed a treaty with the Quapaw Tribe of Indians, near New Gascony, Arkansas Territory. The principal clause of the treaty, provided that the Quapaws would remove to lands west of Missouri. A contingent of the Quapaws were removed to lands lying immediately north of those occupied by the Seneca & Shawnees. Their lands lay between the Neosho River and the Missouri line and included a strip of land now lying in the State of Kansas, averaging about one-half to five-eighths mile in width and stretching the

[37] Neosho A. William Armstrong to Comm. Harris, July 17, 1837; A. S. Walker to Comm. Harris, May 26, 1837.

[38] *Ibid.* R. A. Callaway to Comm. Harris, Sept. 7, 1838.

full length of their lands. In the Treaty of 1867, between the Quapaws and the U. S. government, the Quapaws were induced to relinquish their title to these lands in Kansas for an inconsiderable sum.

The Seneca, Quapaw, and Seneca & Shawnee bands of Indians, now comprised, what was sometimes referred to as the "Neosho Sub-Agency." By the time that Sub-Agent Callaway assumed the duties of his office, the Sub-Agency was seldom thereafter referred to as the, "Seneca Sub-Agency."

Acting on the recommendation of the Governor of Missouri, Commissioner Ellsworth on August 1, 1833, hired[39] James Pool, from Independence, Missouri, to perform the duties of blacksmith for the Senecas of Sandusky. He also hired Azariah Holcomb, Mr. Pool's brother-in-law, as carpenter, to assist in the proposed erection of a gristmill for the Senecas. These two men did good service for the Senecas for several years. Cherokee West Agent, Vashon, complained in 1835, that Commissioner Ellsworth had no authority to hire the two men.

Lieutenant Van Horne, while acting Seneca Sub-Agent in 1833, allowed Mr. Pool and his family to live at the Agency house. Van Horne stated, "As there seemed to me little probability that the Agency House would be required for the residence of a Sub-Agent: and as it was likely to go to ruin if not occupied: I have directed the blacksmith to occupy it for the present." Mr. Holcomb and his family were sick and were also allowed to live there, where they were cared for by the Pool family. Lieut. Van Horne, conscious of Mr. Holcomb's illness, reported,[40] "I think it my duty to say that in my opinion, the man is unfit to be employed by the Department, either as a carpenter or miller."

The first blacksmith shop for the Senecas was built on the grounds near the Agency House, by Mr. Pool and Mr. Holcomb. It was built, "of hewn logs, a nailed on roof and cost together with the coal-house, only $15.80." Mr. Pool served as blacksmith for the Senecas, excepting for a few months, until March 31, 1841. He made his home, during all this time, in the old Seneca Agency House. In 1853, Mr. Pool asked the government for interest to be paid

[39] *Ibid.* Comm. Ellsworth to Second Auditor's Office, Treasury Department, June 22, 1833.

[40] Cherokee West A. Lieut. Van Horne to Gen. Clark, Dec. 31, 1833. Sometime in the intervening period, the Sub-Agency house had been stripped of its door, windows and flooring, and it was now necessary to replace these, to make the place habitable.

on his unpaid salary, accumulated between the years of 1826-1852, amounting to $2714.06.[41] He continued to work as blacksmith for various Indian Agencies, until sometime during the Civil War, but his salary was never paid in full, to his satisfaction.

Colonel Bailey, on January 12, 1838, again applied to Superintendent Clark, for payment, for the erection of the Seneca Sub-Agency buildings. Mr. Bailey also sent sworn affidavits of his hired assistants, William Frazier and George Null, who had assisted in the erection of the buildings. Superintendent Clark, then asked Sub-Agent Callaway, for his opinion concerning the validity of Colonel Bailey's claim. Sub-Agent Callaway, then contacted three persons who were present or near the grounds during the erection of the buildings, and asked for their opinions. The three were Benjamin F. Warner, John Patterson and George Herron, the latter a Seneca Indian who was still employed as Interpreter for the Senecas. According to Sub-Agent Callaway, the combined opinion of the three was:[42]

> That the buildings which are of the roughest kind of hewn logs—a double cabin, one room 18 feet square, the other 16 x 18 feet, with a passageway of 8½ feet, the passage without a floor, two very ordinary wood chimneys—a clapboard roof nailed on—floor planks loosely thrown in.
>
> The buildings were to have been built for $200.00.
>
> The yoke of work oxen and log chain were a pair of old oxen too poor to be taken away by Mr. Bailey and were sold to Mr. Kennerly for the purpose of hauling his fire-wood—and were afterwards sold by Mr. Kennerly to said Mr. B. F. Warner.
>
> The corn a small lot that Mr. Bailey had left from subsisting the Senecas and sold to Mr. Kennerly for the purpose of feeding to his oxen.
>
> The kitchen and smoke-house, or rather stable, for that was the use made of it was built by Mr. Warner under Contract with Lieut. Ross who paid for them.
>
> I have myself valued all of said buildings at $150. with two brick chimneys put up by James Pool, the Seneca Blacksmith, which I think a high price in any Country and under any circumstance.

Colonel Bailey, to further explain his views toward the erection of the Sub-Agency buildings, stated:[43]

> The work on Agency was all done except the joiner work inside, for the want of plank, which would be ready in a few days. In order to get the plank we had to wait for Mr. Kennerly's return from St. Louis, to bring a mill saw, which I paid for and made arrangements with Mr. Kennerly and Mr. Warner to complete the job and

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[41] Western S. 1848-58, Microfilm Document No. 663.

[42] *Ibid.* R. A. Callaway to Gen Clark, April 20, 1838.

[43] *Ibid.* David Bailey to Gen. John Ruland of the St. Louis Superintendency, Jan. 13, 1838.

left money in Mr. Kennerly's hand to pay for the work when it was done—the kitchen we were occupying when Mr. Kennerly arrived with his goods—we struck our tent and gave possession. If there is any fault about the business it is not mine—for I incurred that expense and put up their buildings much against my inclination, but merely to accommodate those interested as it made me very late getting home with my hands and teams, and was detained several days by inclement weather, saying nothing of my suffering in the open prairie for several days in a bad snow storm.

Superintendent Clark reiterated that $150 was all he had in his hands to pay for the erection of these buildings. He realized the difficult situation in which Sub-Agent Kennerly had been placed. He realized the difficulty of procuring the building materials and the inclemency of the weather, at that season of the year. He also realized the insufficiency of the amount allowed and that the urgent necessity for a shelter for Sub-Agent Kennerly's goods and provisions, impelled him to incur the added expense of the necessary buildings. Therefore when the builder, (Colonel Bailey) presented his accounts, General Clark, being satisfied of its reasonableness, stated, "I could only recommend its allowance."[44]

Again, on February 15, 1842, David Bailey for the last time petitioned Commissioner T. Hartley Crawford, for payment for the erection of the Sub-Agency buildings.[45] Commissioner Crawford however, could do no better toward the payment of Mr. Bailey, than the Commissioners preceding him. The problem was not his. The Country faced great financial problems and was still reeling from the effects of an economic depression.

Colonel Bailey received $150 that had originally been authorized for the erection of the buildings but no more. He was only one of many, employed in the Indian Department, to get caught by vexatious deductions in settlements. Sub-Agent Stokes, alarmed at the great number of circumstances arising, in which an Agent could be held liable to deductions of his own salary, to pay that of some other, complained:[46]

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[44] *Ibid.* Supt. Clark to Comm. Harris, April 26, 1838. Gen. Clark was no stranger to the complexities of the problems of the raw frontier. He had spent the greater part of his life either within or near the fringe of a wilderness.

[45] *Ibid.* David Bailey to Comm. T. Hartley Crawford, Feb. 15, 1842. David Bailey still lived near Troy, Missouri, and although his letter this time seemed hopeful of payment, it was much less vigorously presented, than those preceeding.

[46] Cherokee West A. Gov. Stokes to Comm. Harris, Aug. 20, 1836.

Mr. Lewis, (the Clerk) in his letter to General Arbuckle, of the 6th. June 1836, charges Capt. Vashon the Agent with $60.00 paid to James Pool, Blacksmith for the Senecas for the services of his servant as Stricker. He says, "The Secretary of War expressly forbids the employment of any Slave in the Indian Department.

There is no such restriction in the Treaty. I do not believe Pool could have carried on his shop beneficially for the Senecas, without employing his slave as a Stricker. When the money is paid to Pool, as has been the case, where does it go when squeezed out of poor Vashon's $750. per annum? Into the pocket of the disbursing Agent as a deposit.

In the same letter of 6th June 1836 from Mr. Lewis, Capt. Vashon is charged with $160. paid to Aaron Price for services as (Cherokee) Blacksmith.

. . . . To be sure these charges and deductions are nothing to me, but I am alarmed when I perceive that the Military Disbursing Officer is excused in every instance, and the whole responsibility for every omission or irregularity thrown upon the Agent.

The problems that faced a sub-agent, in the frontier Indian Country, were so numerous that several potential candidates declined appointments.[47] Several accepted appointments and abandoned their posts as soon as they discovered the true nature of the circumstances involved. The majority of those who accepted, expected their situation to improve. They expected their salaries and accommodations to be changed to do justice to the importance of their station. They could expect nothing less from a government that professed a desire to promote the interests and to secure the comforts of the Indians who had been induced to remove to an isolated frontier country. The agents also expected some alterations in the inconveniences arising from the irksome regulations governing the payment of persons that performed small but necessary tasks. They felt there were too many situations that arose that were not covered by general regulations.

They also found the Indian Country monotonous and free from the social events that so many desired. The ones with families had no means for educating their children, or adequately to furnish their living quarters. Nearly all at one time or another, regardless of how innocent they may have been, were accused of peculation or misconduct in office.

When Sub-Agent Callaway began to look around for a more centrally located site for his Sub-Agency, he went farther north of the old Sub-Agency buildings and moved into some old buildings that had been abandoned in 1831, by Mr. Chouteau of the American Fur Company.[48] He was now

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[47] Neosho A. James M. Deaderick, of Jonesboro, Tennessee to Commissioner T. Hartley Crawford, Jan. 25, 1843; A. O. Eggleston to Comm. Crawford, March 4, 1843.

[48] *Ibid.* Fixed Property Statement, March 31, 1841.

content to leave the old Sub-Agency buildings in the possession of the Seneca blacksmith.

The successive, "Fixed Property Statements," for the Neosho Sub-Agency, listed no official Sub-Agency buildings until 1844. They did however, list an official residence for the Seneca blacksmith. The first crude maps of the area attempt to place the location of the Seneca blacksmith shop, but ignore the fact that nearby was the old Sub-Agency buildings.

In 1861, while under the threat of violence from Confederate forces, the Federal Government Officials deserted[49] the area embracing the three small Indian Tribes, all under the jurisdiction of the Neosho Sub-Agency. Federal troops fought and skirmished with "Bushwhackers and Rebels" on several occasions in the area adjacent to Buffalo Creek and Cowskin River bottoms. The country was described as, "rough and tangled" by the Federal officers. When they sought to engage the "Rebels," they would merely hide in the thick brush or move to another site a short distance away. Finally in desperation the Federal officers decided to apply the torch to many of the buildings near the Missouri line to prevent their use by the Rebels.

The records are vague as to exactly which buildings were burned at this time, but because of their close proximity to the Rebel "hangout," of Enterprise, Missouri, it may be well to assume that the Sub-Agency buildings were among the first to go.

In February 1867, the Senecas listed their national property losses during the Civil War, as amounting to $10,000.[50] The three Indian Tribes were paid $90,000 in 1870, for their war losses but were assessed [51] one-third of this amount by their attorney, General James G. Blunt.

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[49] Southern S. W. G. Coffin, Supt. of Southern Superintendency to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 19, 1861.

Neosho Agency. Peter P. Elder, Neosho Sub-Agent to H. B. Branch, Supt. of Southern Superintendency, July 17, 1861.

[50] Neosho A., 1867. War Loss Claims. Microfilm Document No's. 517-604.

[51] *Ibid.* Felix R. Brunot, Comm. in Department of Interior to T. D. Cop, Secretary of Interior, Oct. 27, 1870; *The Pittsburgh Commencement*, October 12, 1870, a newspaper article labeled the transaction as, "scandulous." Mr. Brunot stated, "Gen Blunt was present during the payment of the Indians. The money for each Indian, was first handed to the General who first withheld his one-third of the money and then handed the rest to the Indian. He did practically nothing to earn his money."

IN MEMORIAM

The Oklahoma Historical Society announces with sorrow and a feeling of great loss the death of two who were closely associated and relatives of leaders in the activities of the Society.

Edna Mary Fraker

Edna Mary Fraker was a native of Oklahoma, born in Enid on October 21, 1901. Her early life was spent in Marshall where she graduated from high school. She later attended the University of Oklahoma where she was a member of Alpha Gamma Delta National Sorority. She married Elmer L. Fraker, B. A. and M. A. of the University of Oklahoma, and they lived in Cherokee, Chickasha and Mangum at different times. Their family home has been in Oklahoma City since 1946 where Mr. Fraker is Administrative Head of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mrs. Fraker was a member of P. E. O., the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Rotary Anns and the Methodist Church of Nichols Hills, Oklahoma City. She died in Mercy Hospital, Oklahoma City on May 23, 1964.

Edna Mary Fraker is survived by her husband, Elmer L. Fraker; daughter, Mrs. M. L. Atkinson III, of Tamara, Venezuela; son, Robert V. Fraker of Oklahoma City; three granddaughters—Catherine, Janis and Gail Atkinson; and her mother, Mrs. J. T. Stuerke, Marshall, Oklahoma. Funeral services for Mrs. Fraker were held in the Methodist Church of Nichols Hills on Monday, May 25, 1964, with the Reverend George Graham officiating.

Carrie H. Shirk

Mrs. Carrie H. Shirk died at the age of eighty years on Friday, June 19, 1964, in her home at 5201 Vernon Road, Oklahoma City. She was born in Goshen, Indiana where she finished high school, and later attended St. Mary's College, South Bend, Indiana. She was united in marriage with the late John H. Shirk, early day attorney of Oklahoma City where they made their home since 1909.

Mrs. Shirk was past president of the New Century Club and of the Cosmopolitan Club, and a member of St. Paul's American Lutheran Church.

She is survived by her four children and three grandchildren. Her three sons are: George H. Shirk, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society and Mayor of Oklahoma City; John F. Shirk, a manufacturer of Glendora, California; Major Paul R. Shirk. U. S. Army, at Fort Bragg. Her one daughter is Lucyl A. Shirk of the home, Executive Director of Campfire Girls, Oklahoma City. Funeral services for Mrs. Carrie H. Shirk were held in St. Paul's American Lutheran Church on Monday, June 22, 1964. Her passing is mourned by many friends among the younger generation and by her long time associates in Oklahoma City, for she was venerated and loved for her high character, charm and warm personality.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society

The Chronicles of Oklahoma here presents an excellent picture of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society taken during the Board meeting in the Directors' Room of the Historical Building on April 23, 1964. Governor Henry Bellmon (a native of Oklahoma, descendant of a pioneer family in the Cherokee Strip), Ex-Official member of the Board of Directors of the Society, and four regularly elected members of the 25-member Board were not present when the photograph was made.

Directors absent and not in the picture are: **Lou Allard,** native of Oklahoma (Illinois family, 1902), Publisher of the *Drumright Derrick*, member of the House of Representatives, State Legislature, Chairman of Oklahoma Semi-Centennial Commission (1957), past president of Oklahoma Press Association, Drumright; **Jenkin Lloyd Jones,** Editor and Publisher of *Tulsa Tribune*, member Board of American Society of Newspaper Editors, syndicated columnist (75 papers), author, Tulsa; **H. Milt Phillips,** native of Oklahoma (descendant of pioneer family, 1889), 1st Vice President of Oklahoma Historical Society, Editor and Publisher of *Seminole Producer*, veteran of World Wars I and II, past President of Oklahoma Press Association, Seminole; **Mrs. Anna B. Korn,** active in patriotic societies, organizer and past President of Oklahoma Memorial Association, Inc., with its "Oklahoma Hall of Fame" ceremonies held annually on Statehood Day, Oklahoma City; **R. M. Mountcastle,** veteran of World War I, former member of State Legislature, a Fort Gibson historian, attorney, Muskogee.

Directors present and appearing in the photograph shown on the opposite page, reading clockwise (to left) from end of the table in foreground: **George H. Shirk,** native of Oklahoma (a descendant and present head of Oklahoma City law firm established 1904) President (presiding) of Oklahoma Historical Society, veteran of World War II (Colonel on General Staff Corps, U. S. A.), past President of Oklahoma Philatellic Society, state history writer, Oklahoma City; **James D. Morrison,** native of Oklahoma (Virginia family in state, 1910), Dean Southeastern State College, local civic and historical activities, teacher of history, author, Durant; **Robert A. Hefner,** former Justice of State Supreme Court, former Mayor both of Oklahoma City and Ardmore, founder of the Hefner Company (oil), attorney, Oklahoma City; **Miss Genevieve Seger,** native of Oklahoma (descendant western Oklahoma pioneer family—John H. Seger, 1872), Principal public school, teacher of history, President of Blaine County Historical Society, active in educational organizations, Geary; **Emma Estill-Harbour,** President Emeritus of Oklahoma Historical Society, active in educational organizations, teacher of history, former head of the History Department in Central State College, Edmond.

Henry B. Bass, member pioneer family in Cherokee Strip (1890's), head of Bass Construction Company, collector-historian Lincoln poetry, Chairman Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission, writer, Enid;

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY MEETING APRIL 23, 1964

Mrs. George L. Bowman, Treasurer of Oklahoma Historical Society, past State President and present National officer in P. E. O., active in educational, historical and civic organizations, Kingfisher; **Joe W. Curtis**, native of Oklahoma (Cherokee descent-Adair family west 1830's), President of the First National Bank of Pauls Valley, Governor of Rotary International, Vice President National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, attorney, Pauls Valley; **Q. B. Boydstun**, native of Oklahoma (pioneer family of Caddo, Indian Territory—1890's), General Counsel for the Grand River Dam Authority, veteran World War I, former member of State Legislature, Chairman of Old Fort Gibson Stockade Commission (stockade restoration), attorney, Fort Gibson; **R. G. Miller**, Editor "Smoking Room Column" *in Oklahoma City Times* and *Daily Oklahoman*, organizer of Annual Tour of Oklahoma Historical Society, also, of "Foliage Tours" to eastern Oklahoma, statewide-local history writer, Oklahoma City.

William E. McIntosh, native of Oklahoma (Creek and Scottish descent—McIntosh family west, 1828), present Chief of the Creek Tribe, former Treasurer of Tulsa County, an organizer and 1st President of the Tulsa County Historical Society, lecturer on Creek Indian and U. S. Civil War history, Tulsa; **Richard H. Cloyd**, Colonel General Staff, U. S. Army (Retired), Judge of Norman City Court of Cleveland County, Norman; **Fisher Muldrow**, a native of Oklahoma (desendant of Choctaw—Fisher family West, 1830's), 2nd Vice President of Oklahoma Historical Society, Executive Vice President Associated Motor Carriers of Oklahoma, Inc., 33° Mason, Rotarian, active in civic and in University of Oklahoma organizations, Norman; **Orel Busby**, member of Pontotoc County pioneer family (1890's), former Justice of the State Supreme Court (1932-1937), past member of Board of Regents of University of Oklahoma, organizer of State "Young Democrats," rancher, local history writer, attorney, Ada; **N. B. Johnson**, native of Oklahoma (descendant of Cherokee family west, 1830's), Justice of State Supreme Court, member of the State Governors' Indian Council nationwide (16 years), President of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, past President and active member in National Congress of American Indians, Oklahoma City.

W. D. Finney, President of the Washita Valley Bank, past President of the Oklahoma Bankers Association, past District governor of Rotary, President of Oklahoma Heart Association, active in preservation of local history, Fort Cobb: **J. G. Clift**, past City Attorney of Duncan (11 years), past Stephens County Attorney (4 years), U. S. Probate Attorney, organizer (1940) and present President of Stephens County Historical Society, past President Chamber of Commerce, Rotarian, Duncan; **Berlin B. Chapman**, Department of History, Oklahoma State University, President of Payne County Historical Society, active member Half Century Club, well known history researcher and writer; **Edward Everett Dale**, Research Historian Emeritus of University of Oklahoma, visiting Professor of History in University of Melbourne (Australia) and in University of Houston, also Anderson Professor of History in University of Houston (Texas), member of Boston Authors' Club and 20th Century Association (Boston), author, Norman.

Joe W. McBride, Publisher of newspapers, Investments, past President Oklahoma Press Association, former President of University of Oklahoma Board of Regents (22 years), past Governor of Rotary International, active in state history and civic organizations, Oklahoma City; **Elmer L. Fraker**, Administrative Secretary Oklahoma Historical Society, Member of the Council American Association of State and Local History, veteran World War I, former superintendent in state public schools, lecturer, writer, Oklahoma City.

Dedication of Oklahoma Historical Marker at Bartlesville

An official Oklahoma Historical Marker indicating the site of "Oklahoma's First Commercial Oil Well" was unveiled and dedicated in a special program held on the afternoon of March 5, 1964, at Bartlesville. The marker was sponsored by the Historical Committee of the Oklahoma Petroleum Council, the historical site of the Nellie Johnstone No. 1 oil well having been approved and the inscription on the marker provided by the Oklahoma Historical Society. The inscription on the plaque reads:

> *Oklahoma's First Commercial Oil Well*
>
> Nellie Johnstone No. 1, first commercial oil well in Indian Territory completed April 15, 1897, by the Cudahy Oil Co., on south bank of Caney River. Site is 3.1 mi., N. W. of this marker.

The marker in co-operation with the Historical Society erected by the State Highway Commission is located on U. S. Highway 75 in a parkway across from the Good Shepherd Presbyterian Church at Bartlesville, the site of the Nellie Johnstone well indicated 3.1 miles northwest in the City's Nellie Johnstone Park. In this City Park, the Bartlesville Chamber of Commerce has sponsored the erection of full-sized replica of redwood derrick and drilling rig at the site of the No. 1 well, a unique outdoor museum exhibit commemorating the early history of the petroleum industry and its contributions made in the building and development of Oklahoma.

The schedule of events on the day of the dedication at Bartlesville began with a morning meeting of the Historical Committee of the Oklahoma Petroleum Council in the Historical Room of the Public Library, with John Steiger, Chairman of the Committee, presiding, members present including C. E. Cummings, first Chairman; James O. Kemm, Executive Manager of the Oklahoma Petroleum Council; Malcolm E. Rosser III, Duncan; Luther Williams, P. S. Hedrick and A. V. Bourque, all of Tulsa. Luncheon was served to the Historical Committee members and guests in the Executive Dining Room, Cities Service Building. The afternoon program began with a brief ceremony in

the shade of the redwood replica of the old oil well derrick and rigging in Johnstone Park where Mr. W. W. Keeler, Chairman and Director of the Executive Committee of the Phillips Petroleum Company, and Chief of the Cherokees, gave the following brief history:

The Nellie Johnstone No. 1
Oklahoma's First Commercial Oil Well

Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

On this occasion when we are dedicating a redwood replica of the Nellie Johnstone No. 1, Oklahoma's first commercial oil producer, I thought you would be interested in the story of the well and of the pioneers whose vision and perseverance started commercial oil production in Oklahoma.

Much credit for the drilling of this well is due to George B. Keeler, William Johnstone and Frank Overlees, former prominent citizens of the Bartlesville area, all now deceased. Keeler had observed an oil seep in the vicinity of the discovery well as early as 1875. During his spare time he began negotiations to have a well drilled, arousing the interest of other citizens of that community in the plans.

Keeler and Johnstone operated the first store in what is now Bartlesville. They felt that if oil could be found in the vicinity it would do much to speed economic development. None of the group were oil men, however; and they began to cast about in an effort to get somebody to drill a test well.

They contacted John F. Overfield, who had heard of the oil possibilities of the area through Galey of the firm of Guffey and Galey. Overfield became interested in the proposition, and from then on took an active part in their plans.

Guffey and Galey were contacted, and they agreed to drill a well if they could secure a lease on a large enough tract of land surrounding the test well. The land in this area was in the Cherokee Nation. George Keeler, Wm. Johnstone, Frank Overlees and others made trips to Tahlequah, the Cherokee Capital, in the attempt to secure a lease covering the rights of drilling for oil and gas. After much delay, a lease was approved covering fifteen square miles.

By this time [1896], Guffey & Galey had sold their interests to the Forest Oil Company and were not interested in drilling in Indian Territory.

Overfield then induced the Cudahy Oil Company to drill a well on the property; and the lease, which originally had been granted in the name of John F. Overfield, was assigned to the Cudahy Oil Company. Overfield then became Manager of Cudahy's operations in that area, and had supervision of the drilling of Oklahoma's "first commercial Oil Well."

McBride & Bloom of Independence, Kansas. were hired to drill the Bartlesville well. A rig was moved about 70 miles overland from near Red Fork to Bartlesville in January, 1897. The hauling was done by George Keeler.

Drilling started late in January, 1897. The well found the Oswego Lime at 880 to 942 feet, the Layton Sand at 975 to 987 feet, a gas sand at 1252 to 1267 feet. At 1303 feet drillers encountered oil in a formation later to be called the "Bartlesville Sand." It was drilled to

Oklahoma Historical Marker sponsored by the Historical Committee of the Oklahoma Petroleum Council, under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society, dedicated March 5, 1964 at Bartlesville.

Redwood replica of the derrick with rigging on the original site of Nellie Johnstone No. 1, "Oklahoma's First Commercial Oil Well," in the Nellie Johnstone Park at Bartlesville.

1320 feet. The producing formation was shot with glycerin. Mrs. Jennie O. Morton, wife of A. D. Morton and daughter of George Keeler, dropped the "go-devil" that set off the shot. A column of oil shot over the derrick top and Oklahoma's first commercial oil well was born. No tanks were available and a test of the well was not made at this time, although it was estimated to be capable of producing 50 to 75 barrels per day.

As Toby LaForge so aptly stated in the *Tulsa Tribune*, "In the comparisons of today ... that first commercial well was infinitely small, yet this fact remains, it marked the birth of a new empire and the dawn of a new era in this greater southwest, a dawn that was to spread its contagion all over the world ..."

With the allotment of the Indian lands, Mrs. Howard Cannon, the daughter of William Johnstone and direct descendant of the last principal chief of the Delaware tribe, Charles Journeycake, received the tract on which the Nellie Johnstone No. 1 now stands as her allotment. She deeded the plot where the well stands to the city for park purposes in 1917.

As we commemorate this historic well today, we particularly want the many fine citizens of Bartlesville whose generous contributions made the rebuilding a reality.

A large crowd attended the dedication of the Historical Marker on U. S. Highway 75 in spite of a high cold wind threatening weather. Mr. and Mrs. Howard Cannon were the outstanding honorees present. Mrs. Cannon—*Nellie Johnstone*" in person—unveiled the marker with the assistance of Miss Muriel H. Wright of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mrs. John Steiger, Chairman of the Petroleum Council that had sponsored the erection of the marker, officially presented it to Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Arch Little, President of the Bartlesville Chamber of Commerce, spoke briefly stressing the point that the oil industry has been instrumental in stabilizing Oklahoma's economy and that one-third of the State's revenue comes from the petroleum industry. Besides the tremendous impact of the constant research, the oil industry has contributed men and women—60,000 oilmen of the "pioneering stock that made the Nellie Johnstone discovery possible." Mr. Little continued in his conclusions:

"It is especially fitting that this first marker should recognize the part the Nellie Johnstone discovery well played in molding this industry. Rising from this humble beginning just 67 years ago, this industry has built over 1,200 miles of pipe line within Oklahoma's boundaries. Today it operates 14 refineries, 9 petrotechemical plants, and 74 gas processing plants in our state.

"This great industry has touched each of Oklahoma's 77 counties, and in each, the local economy has felt the impact. Indeed, not one individual in our state and nation can help but feel grateful when he considers the contributions made by the petroleum industry to our day-to-day comfort and convenience ... To you in the oil industry, I say on behalf of us who are not, thank you for all that you are doing."

Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company Historical Record and Notes

The following notes on the history of the operations of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company are contributed by Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Department of History of Oklahoma State University:

The Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company at my request recently presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society a microfilm copy of typed records concerning its operation in Oklahoma. Included is the *Official History of the Rock Island Railroad* by George H. Crosby, former secretary and treasurer, covering the period from the beginning to about 1902, giving charters, officers, and corporate history. This is "a Rock Island publication for information of the Company's own organization." It is a brilliant summary of 44 pages.

The study begins in 1827 when Congress made a grant of lands to aid in the building of a canal from Chicago to LaSalle on the Illinois River. The State of Illinois entered upon the construction of other canals, and some railroad construction. The "magnificent scheme collapsed," leaving the state in debt. However, the experience was of "some value in the study of the problem of state ownership and operation of railways."

In 1847 an act of the legislature of Illinois created the Rock Island and LaSalle Railroad Company and empowered it to construct a railroad from Rock Island to LaSalle. In 1851 an act of the legislature permitted the company to change its name to the "Chicago and Rock Island Railroad Company," and to extend its road from LaSalle to Chicago. The extension was completed in 1854.

The author proceeds in a scholarly and clear manner to narrate the expansion of a great railroad system. It encountered the competition of free enterprise, and learned the advantage of entering into alliances with rival companies. Legislative acts, judicial matters, finance, and the story of subsidiaries are given careful attention.

The first consolidation, called the "consolidation of 1866," merged the company with that of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company of Iowa, and the corporate name became the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company. A consolidation of June 2, 1880, made it a "railway" company.

The Chicago, Kansas and Nebraska Railway Company was the first company involved in the entrance of the Rock Island into Indian Territory. By an act of March 2, 1887, Congress empowered the company to construct a road from the east end of the Oklahoma panhandle to El Paso; and from Caldwell, Kansas, via Fort Reno to the Red River.

Construction was completed from Caldwell to Pond Creek on July 15, 1888. The track reached Enid and Hennessey without incident. The first train reached Hennessey on October 14, 1889, and brought among other things, the first high grade seed wheat for the farmers. The road was built through El Reno and reached Minco on February 14, 1890. This segment in the Indian Territory was 120 miles long. Construction from Pond Creek to Minco was financed entirely by the Rock Island.

On default of the Chicago, Kansas and Nebraska Railway Company to pay its coupons on maturity, foreclosure proceedings were had, and the Rock Island acquired the property. A deed was executed on April 30, 1891, and delivered at the date of sale, June 17.

The author compiled a list of officials of the Rock Island, giving dates of their service. He traced the expansion of the Rock Island system. For Oklahoma, one notes facts such as the following: The road from Minco to Terral on the Red River was completed in 1892. In 1900 the line was extended from Chickasha to Mountain View, and work was continued on a branch line from Anadarko to Fort Sill, and Lawton, which was completed in September, 1901. In 1902 the company acquired the properties of the Choctaw, Oklahoma and Gulf Railroad Company by "tendering $80.00 per share for the common stock and $60.00 per share for the preferred stock."

The microfilm includes, *The Rock Island in Oklahoma*, a study of 110 pages by Arthur W. Large, general agricultural agent of the company. He prepared it about 1950. There is an index.

The first chapter, "Settlement and Development," shows "the important role which the Rock Island Railroad played" in this matter. For the land run of 1889, the railroad brought settlers to Caldwell, and on the opening day many went as far as the railhead at Pond Creek.

Unbroken prairie sod and drouth during the first years made hard times for the settlers. Their seed wheat was of such a low grade that it would not have amounted to much if it had made a crop. Marcus A. Low had served as president of the Chicago, Kansas and Nebraska Railway Company. He was "one of the great men of the Rock Island of that day." He arranged for an abundance of "the best seed wheat that could be purchased in Kansas" to be made available to farmers through the local agents of the railroad. Farmers secured the wheat by signing promissory notes. They were told to "pay when you get a crop."

The effect of this "program was simply amazing. It put new life, hope and confidence in the hard pressed farmers and businessmen and filled them with determination to go ahead and make this one of the finest wheat and farming sections in the Southwest." The railroad secured the good will of the farmers and businessmen, and "the notes were all paid except two."

In 1890 there were several of the Chicago, Kansas and Nebraska Railway Companies of identical name, and there had been some consolidations. It was difficult to determine which company was referred to in a given transaction. While this complicated matter was before the federal courts, Congress passed an act on June 27 granting to the Chicago, Kansas and Nebraska Railway Company the power to convey to the Rock Island all of its property, rights and franchises. The act gave the Rock Island legal status in Oklahoma. Large says:

"It is very unusual, in fact, almost unheard of for Congress to legislate upon a matter while it is pending in the federal courts. The circumstances were so complicated that we believe the act of Congress was fully justified, and may have been suggested by the court in charge of the case."

There is a good account of the Choctaw, Coal and Railway Company in its relations with Oklahoma City. There are gems of information, such as that following the completion of the railroad from Liberal, Kansas, to Texhoma in 1902. The company located Mennonites near Guymon, and the colony grew to 200 families. Their wheat production "made a valuable contribution to the limited traffic of those days."

There is a construction time table from 1888 to 1947. It gives the Oklahoma mileage, completion dates, terminal points, and the names of companies constructing the lines. There is a table of mileage abandoned in Oklahoma, giving effective dates, names of lines abandoned, and mileage of each. Note is made of milage sold to other railroads. The general patterns of settlement in Oklahoma is stated as follows:

"First came the original wave of new settlers. In a few years half or more of them were gone to other sections, and then came the second wave; and the second immigration with those who had remained from the first wave stayed and made the country. This is where the work of the Rock Island's Immigration Department was so important and valuable to the newer sections as their continous campaign for new settlers and greater development attracted a more or less constant stream of new immigrants to the less developed regions."

Centennial Commemoration of the Civil War: Capture of the Federal Steamboat *J. R. Williams* on the Arkansas River

A centennial commemorative program noting the capture of the Federal steamboat the *J. R. Williams* during the Civil War, on the Arkansas River, at Pleasant Bluff, now the location of the old village of Tamaha, eighteen miles northeast of Stigler, Haskell County, Oklahoma, was held on Sunday afternoon, June 14, 1964. The program was sponsored by the Oklahoma Historical Society, George H. Shirk, President, Oklahoma City; Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission, Henry B. Bass, Chairman, Enid; Inter-tribal Council—Five Civilized Tribes, Frank Belvin, President, Okmulgee; Lions Club of Stigler, J. R. Watkins, President, Stigler; Marion Roye, Local Chairman, Stigler; Ben P. Choate, General Chairman, McAlester and Oklahoma City.

The program was held on the school grounds at Tamaha, opening with an invocation by Mr. Rex Pettijohn, Postmaster of Stigler, and introduction by Mr. Ben P. Choate of special guests among the large crowd in attendance. Mrs. Mary Jean Hansen, member of the Oklahoma City Civil War Round Table, gave some notes on the early history of Tamaha, a trading post in the Choctaw Nation on the Arkansas River, established during the Choctaw removal immigration about 1832, early settlers had traders here at "Pleasant Bluff," including the Rev. Joseph Smedley (Baptist missionary), Robert M. Jones and Tandy Walker, noted Choctaws. The principal address of the commemorative exercises was delivered by Dr. James D. Morrison, Dean of Southeastern State College, Durant. The Benediction was by the Stigler Bugle Corps (Lars Vinge and Mac McCrory). Dr. Morrison's address is given here:

CAPTURE OF THE J. R. WILLIAMS

June 15, 1864

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We are gathered here today to commemorate an unusual event which occured a hundred years ago tomorrow, June 15, 1864, the capture of a Union river steamboat by Confederate cavalry under the command of that gallent Confederate hero, General Stand Watie of the Cherokees. This is neither the time nor the place to pronounce a eulogy for Stand Watie, although it is fitting to remark in passing that he has been named by some as, "The foremost soldier ever produced by North American Indians." Others may dispute this, but few will refuse to acknowledge that his was a powerful, magnetic personality, that he was a natural leader of men, a man of courage and integrity who was worshiped by the men he commanded. Such words as "simplicity" and "sincerity" and "consideration" also must be included in any attempt to characterize this great Cherokee leader in both war and peace.

Before discussing the capture of the *J. R. Williams*, a little background discussion of the events preceding this incident is in order. During the first two years of the Civil War, 1861-1863, the Indian Territory was generally controled by the South for reasons which will not be explained here. The tide of war turned, however, in the spring and summer of 1863 so that first Fort Gibson and then Fort Smith fell into Yankee hands and it appeared that the whole of the Indian Territory might be returned to Northern control and the way to Texas finally opened for Federal troops through the Indian nations.

That this complete Federal occupation did not occur in 1863 or 1864 was not entirely because of strong Confederate resistance, as any student of the Civil War in Oklahoma will agree, but because of top-level decisions on both sides concerning major stategy and problems of logistics. For example, General Grant, who took over chief command of all Federal armies early in 1864, believed in a policy of not wasting his strength in outskirt operations but rather one of concentrating on the subjugation of the important Confederate armies under Lee and Johnston. Destruction of these great armies to end Confederate resistance was Grant's goal, and of course that is what Grant finally accomplished. Thus the fringe areas, such as the Indian Territory, were ordinarily allotted only those men and supplies necessary to maintain a sort of status quo. This allowed the North to control that part of the Indian Territory north of the Arkansas and South Canadian rivers during 1864 and 1865, leaving southern Indian Territory, the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, to the Confederates. Each side crossed this line on occasion, as Stand Watie's raids will indicate, such as the capture of the wagon train on Cabin Creek in September of 1864. For the North an illustration is the march by the Union commander, Col. W. A. Phillips, deep into the Choctaw country in February, 1864. But each side returned to sanctuary following raids into territory held primarily by the enemy.

Thus today we are on the line which roughly divided the North from the South during the last two years of the Civil War. Neither side had the power to drive the other out of the Indian country and a sort of unstable tension existed along this line, since neither could prevent raids into its territory by the troops of the enemy. Each side also had refugee problems. Southern refugees from north of the Arkansas—Canadian river line were clustered along Red River and strained the capacity of the Choctaws and Chickasaws to feed the visitors as well as themselves. Likewise, refugee Indians who had

sided with the North and had been driven from their homes early in the War were now returned to their ravaged homesteads in areas of Federal control and depended on the North for subsistence. In June, 1864, one estimate states that nearly 16,000 refugee Indians were located in the vicinity of Fort Gibson, dependent on the North for subsistence which the United States Indian Superintendent found it difficult to provide because of the activity of Southern raiders like Stand Watie.

When possible, supplies in quantity were brought to Fort Gibson by river steamboat, since a vessel of 100 tons could carry an amount of supplies equal to that of a train of 100 wagons and be more easily defended from attack by guerrilla raiders. The Arkansas River from Fort Smith to Fort Gibson was not useable, however, unless the volume of water in the channel was sufficient to allow passage over Webber's Falls, perhaps sixty-five river miles above Fort Smith. In the spring of 1864 navigation to Fort Smith had been fairly good, but it was not until the middle of June that a rise in the Arkansas River was thought to be great enough to allow passage over the falls for boats bound for Fort Gibson.

Since the need of the troops and refugee Indians at Fort Gibson and vicinity was great, the Federal authorities at Fort Smith decided to load a sternwheeler, the *J. R. Williams*, with the required supplies and send them up river. The *J. R. Williams* was a steam ferry-boat kept at Fort Smith for the purpose of ferrying troops and wagons across the river. In this emergency the vessel was hastily loaded with a cargo of commissary and quartermaster's supplies, as well as some sutler's goods, and placed in charge of Lt. G. W. Houston, quartermaster, 14th Kansas cavalry. A detachment of 26 men, 12th Kansas Infantry, commanded by Lt. H. A. B. Cook, was sent along as escort. But no cavalry force was sent out to reconnoiter and try to prevent a hostile force from attacking the boat somewhere on the route.

Just how the word came to General Stand Watie—commissioned brigadier general by Jefferson Davis on May 10 so that he probably had not yet received news of his promotion—that the *J. R. Williams* was headed up river is not clear. Fort Smith was full of Southern sympathizers and undoubtedly the Rebels had regular informers in the town who kept the Confederates notified about Union activities. In any case, Watie, whose headquarters were near North Fork Town in the vicinity of the present city of Eufaula, was advised of the departure from Fort Smith of the *J. R. Williams* and made preparations to intercept the boat with the forces available to him.

General Watie selected this point—about five miles below the mouth of the Canadian—then known as Pleasant Bluff, for his attack, since the channel approached the south shore and the steamboat must pass close by. He located three artillery pieces, each masked by bushes, about a hundred yards apart on the bluff and so placed that one could fire direct and the other two could establish a cross fire fore and aft. These guns were commanded by a nineteen-year-old Creek lieutenant, later principal chief of the Creek Nation, George Washington Grayson. Scouts kept an eye on the progress of the steamer and the Rebel forces were ready the moment the boat came into sight.

When the *Williams* was opposite the center gun the three artillery pieces opened fire, accompanied by a heavy volley of small arms, from the concealed position on the south bank. The crew and escort of the boat were taken completely by surprise, but recovered quickly to return the fire. The Confederate shot and shell damaged the craft from the first, hitting the smoke stack, pilot house, and the boiler. Damage to the boiler released steam so that those on deck could see

nothing and the boat became so unmanageable that the pilot ran her on a sand bar near the north bank. Lt. Cook and his escort promptly abandoned ship and floundered to the shore, but Lt. Houston and the captain of the *Williams* rowed over to the enemy on the south bank and surrendered themselves. The Confederates crossed the river after the flight of the escort and moved the stemer to a sand bar near the south bank where they began to unload the cargo.

The above events occured on June 15. On the morning of June 16, while the unloading was still in progress, Col John Ritchie and troops of the Second Union Indian Regiment appeared on the north bank and opened fire. The Confederates then set fire to the *Williams*, which was allowed to drift down the river. As the river continued its rise, barrels and boxes of commissary supplies were also floated down river. Since Watie had no wagons, his troopers were able to carry away only a small part of the cargo. All the supplies were prevented from reaching Gibson, and for some time the Federals abandoned the use of the river for shipping supplies. Also, the capture of supplies encouraged the Southern Indians, whose morale had been at low ebb prior to this exploit. They could use the hominy, salt pork, bacon, flour, and other items such as clothing, and in addition the Northern troops and refugees had been denied the much-needed cargo.

This and other guerilla-type exploits in mid-1864 heartened the Indian troops of Watie and other commanders. Watie's Cherokees on June 27, only two weeks after the capture of the *J. R. Williams*, re-enlisted for the duration of the war. Only four days before this the first Choctaw regiment, commanded by Col. Tandy Walker, had enlisted before their term expired and passed resolutions asking that service in the Confederate army be made compulsory for all Choctaw men between the ages of 18 and 45.

But it was a vain hope which sustained them and the war came to its inevitable end in the spring of 1865, the hopes of the Confederacy crushed. Yet, for Oklahomans, it can be written of Watie and other Confederate Indian heroes the same words which appear on the monument to the Confederate dead at the University of Virginia:

"Fate denied them Victory, but clothed them with glorious Immortality."

—James D. Morrison, Dean

Southeastern State College.
Durant

BOOK REVIEWS

Manuel Lisa: and the Opening of the Missouri Fur Trade. By Richard Edward Oglesby. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1963. Pp. xiv + 246. Illustrations, maps, notes, appendices, bibliography, and index, $5.00.)

This biography of Manuel Lisa needed to be written, for this Spanish Creole was the first to grasp the potentials of the American fur trade of the Rocky Mountains. According to the grave marker erected by his widow he was born at New Orleans in 1772. He first engaged in commerce on the Mississippi, then established a mercantile business at Vincennes, and finally settled at St. Louis in 1799. From St. Louis he traded with the neighboring Indian tribes, including the Osages, where he entered into active rivalry with the dominant Chouteau family. He opposed the Spanish system of granting monopolies of Indian trade and welcomed the wide-open policy that ensued when the United States acquired the Louisiana territory in 1803.

As a local merchant he helped outfit the famous Lewis and Clark expedition, and when these explorers returned with their reports of the untouched fur-rich land of the upper Missouri and the Columbia he began the attempt to exploit it, which never ceased until his death in 1820. At the same time he made some tentative ventures to open trade with Santa Fe, but this had to wait for his successors.

He never had sufficient capital to establish his ambitious empire of furs. He formed partnerships and companies, but the risks inseparable from the business drained their resources; and it was left for John Jacob Astor and others to cash in on his far reaching plans. While his business associates wrestled with financial problems he led the expeditions up the river, establishing trading posts and bases, and dispersed his trappers through the mountain streams. Trading to him was secondary, a method of gaining the good will of the Indians, and they respected him for his hardihood and fair dealing. He even looked ahead to the inevitable destruction of their way of life and tried to prepare them by bringing them cattle, blacksmiths, even the plow.

None of this has ever been told before. Now it is

presented by Richard Edward Oglesby in a biography that deserves to be called definitive. He has examined every possible source, has done a superb job of organization and interpretation, and has written in a clear, readable style. He is at present a member of the history faculty of Eastern Illinois University at Charleston.

—Angie Debo

Marshall, Oklahoma

Westward Vision, The Oregon Trail. By David Lavender. (McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 1963. Pp. 425. Bibliography and Index. $8.95.)

This is the fifth book for the Publisher's The American Trails Series, and this particular author is to be highly commended for the voluminous and detailed study that he has given and transcribed for posterity.

Since the moment Columbus reported home from his first famous voyage men have sought passageways for water travel to the Orient. These such men would risk their all, would undergo extreme and distressing hardships, disease and famine trying to attain their goal. Their dreams ran rampant. Their estimates though seeming vast were always found short of the farther places.

Governments at that time were slow to adequately underwrite the kind of exploration really necessary to get places. The real burden therefore fell on the commercially minded financiers who wanted the riches the fur trade afforded. Their eagerness in turn urged the courageous and willing to become expert woodsmen, trappers and free moving men. The fur hunters became the explorers of the new continent. They were all trying to find the great Northwest Passage across this land which they considered at that time only a small island.

Such men made inefficient maps, they heard and told tales of far places. Publications began distributions of dreams and actual experiences. These stimulated great and active interests in the new world.

David Lavender, through years of devoted research has compiled an historical encyclopedia of those many people and their adventures. He tells of their efforts, their aims despite all obstacles. He traces all the lines where the fur hunters finally established the Oregon Trail. He recreates from Columbus to the Twentieth century.

The book is easy to read and Lavender puts in those intimate items of travel and commonplace observations that most authors overlook but are important to a portrayal.

This reviewer is pleased to have been privileged to read this book. Every student and lover of Americana should have this book on the library shelf, and the upcoming young should be encouraged to read every bit of it. There is no doubt, this book will be the reference for many of the historical stories yet to come. They will be depicted in picture and print from now on.

—Joe McBride.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Brave Warriors. By Norman B. Wiltsey. (The Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, 1963. Pp. 379. $6.50).

Warriors Brave is for the most part a combination of several articles which have appeared in *True West* magazine. It is stated in the "Preface" that there was a great demand for a single book on the seven tribes of Western Indians which comprise the subject of this work. The stress in this book, according to the author, has been placed upon the compression within the bounds of a single volume of a group of fast moving, authentic, and highly readable accounts of these seven tribes.

Too much emphasis has been placed upon readability and fast moving qualities for this book to have any historical significance. There is only a partial bibliography provided. There was apparently no plan for the ultimate integration and printing of each individual article. Just who will be the beneficiary of this oversight is not certain. Some of the references in the partial bibliography are of dubious character: e.g., George Armstrong Custer's *My Life on the Plains* and other such volumes which tend to be highly colored due to personal involvement of the "author." Furthermore, no footnotes are used for pointing to primary materials and authentic sources.

The foreword goes beyond all other objections. It is offensive on its face. Written by the editor of *True West* magazine, it recites a letter from one of the critics of a particular article when the original article appeared as a series. The letter is not pleasant and the addition of

its drivel does nothing to add to the volume nor enhance its purpose: that of being an historical work.

—Wendell E. Howell

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Great Surveys of the American West. By Richard A. Bartlett. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 38.] (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1962. Pp. xxiii, 408. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. $7.95.)

This pacemaking study is the first comprehensive history of the geological and geographical surveys of Clarence King, George Wheeler, Ferdinand V. Hayden, and John W. Powell conducted over large areas of the trans-Mississippi West from 1867 to 1779. In government agencies, these four undertakings are often grouped together and named "the Great Surveys." They were great in the sense of the vast geographical areas they examined, in their breadth of inquiry, and in the number of years in which they operated. Most of all, their contributions to the knowledge of the West were enormous. The work they began was so significant that in 1879 their functions were absorbed by the newly established United States Geological Survey, which continues to the present.

The task or resurrecting the Great Surveys was formidable, due primarily to the large amount of material available. The government list of the publications of the Great Surveys consists in itself of 212 printed pages, thus demanding careful selectivity. Nonofficial printed items are voluminous also, and there are in addition large amounts of manuscript materials in the National Archives and elsewhere, enough collectively to discourage all but the hardiest researcher. While this study should have been written decades ago, it is no surprise that it was not. The author approached his task with a keen sense of the immense problems involved, and the result is a full-course intellectual dinner. His degree of success is commendable.

The organization and literary quality of this volume is outstanding. Logically enough, each of the four Great Surveys is treated in a compact, well-organized section written within a meaningful chronological framework. The colorful background descriptions of survey participants are masterly presentations, and these are unusually useful in enhancing reader interest and in explaining survey developments. While the author never hesitates to be critical of

survey participants and their contributions, he is usually equitable in his judgements. Those undergoing observation in this volume are deftly merged with the adventure of the explorations, and the reader's sense of personal acquaintance with the people involved carries him to the point where he feels he is a participant. An air of discovery abounds as the reader visualizes the superb scenic descriptions or learns of river or desert travel. Always the writing is clear, sprightly, and in the best of taste.

The Great Surveys accomplished much for knowledge and for the nation. Their efforts mapped large parts of the West with enough accuracy to be useful to miners, railroad builders, lumbermen, ranchers, and farmers. Hundreds of place names were given to mountains, plateaus, valleys, and streams. For the first time, truth replaced rumor concerning the physical wonders of the area. Photographs in quantity were made to prove the spoken and written word of the surveys. Physical and biological studies were conducted of this region, and these remain the foundations for investigations into its complicated natural history. Truly, America's first frontiers of science were pushed back by the Great Surveys. While the logical question of "What lies out there?" was answered by these pioneer geologists and geographers, it was soon replaced by a more significant and lasting one: "When shall we go there?"

—LeRoy H. Fischer

Stillwater, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 23, 1964

Mr. George H. Shirk, President of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, called to order the Annual Meeting of the members of the Oklahoma Historical Society in the auditorium of the Historical Building at 9:30 a.m. on Thursday, April 23, 1964.

He opened the meeting by making some remarks about the 75th Anniversary of the Run of 1889 which the state of Oklahoma had celebrated the day before, April 22, 1964.

Hon. Joe B. Hunt, Insurance Commissioner of the state of Oklahoma, was introduced by Mr. Shirk. Mr. Hunt was responsible for originating the theme of the Oklahoma exhibit at the New York World's Fair. The subject of Mr. Hunt's talk was the fourteen flags that have flown over the area that is now Oklahoma. He also mentioned a number of outstanding and famous people, living and dead, who are native Oklahomans.

Mr. Shirk thanked Mr. Hunt, and then spoke in memorium of J. B. Wright, uncle of Miss Muriel H. Wright, and youngest son of Rev. Allen Wright, who gave the state of Oklahoma its name. He concluded by asking the four grandchildren of Allen Wright who were present at the meeting to stand and be recognized, and Miss Wright, one of them, introduced her three cousins: Mrs. Guy F. Fowler, Oklahoma City; Mrs. J. P. Ponder, Moore; and Mr. Robert Wallace, Moore.

Members of the Board of Directors present, and other outstanding guests were introduced to the meeting by Mr. Shirk.

The business meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was opened by Mr. Shirk asking for any old business. There being none, the President stated there was new business in the form of a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society. As is required for proposed amendments to the Constitution, he said it had been published in THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA, and was now before the membership for approval. It was moved by Mr. Fisher Muldrow, and seconded by Judge J. G. Clift that the proposed amendment be adopted. The motion, when put to a vote, passed. The adopted amendment is as follows:

> "If no additional nominations are received, thus resulting in no contest, the Administrative Secretary at the meeting of the Board of Directors where such ballots otherwise would be canvassed shall cast one vote and declare the five nominees elected."

It was moved by Mr. Joe W. McBride and seconded by Judge Orel Busby that the actions and decisions of the Board of Directors and officers for the past year be approved. The motion passed unanimously.

There being no further business, the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was adjourned at 10:05 a.m. by President Shirk.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS — OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 23, 1964

President George H. Shirk called to order the quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society in the Board of Directors Room of the Historical Building on April 23, 1964, at 10:25 a.m.

The roll was called by Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary. Members of the Board of Directors present were: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, Judge Richard H. Cloyd, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. W. D. Finney, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. W. E. McIntosh, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, and Mr. George H. Shirk.

Absent members were: Mr. Lou Allard, Mr. J. Lloyd Jones, Mrs. Frank Korn, and Mr. R. M. Mountcastle.

The Administrative Secretary made his report reporting on the gifts and donations received during the past quarter. Mr. Fraker also reported that there had been forty-seven new Annual Members join the Society during the past quarter, and one new Life Member. It was moved by Dr. Harbour and seconded by Judge Clift that these gifts and new members be accepted. The motion was passed by the Board.

Mr. Fraker, who is Director of the annual Oklahoma Historical Society Tour, reported that practically all the details of the arrangements for the 1964 Tour had been completed. He also stated that the brochure for the tour will be mailed out about the middle of May. The 1964 Tour will mix points of interest both historical and modern, thus combining the old and the new.

The acquisition of the sod house by the Oklahoma Historical Society has been temporarily delayed by flaws in the title as found by the staff of the Attorney General's office. These are only routine things, however, reported Mr. Fraker, and as soon as these are corcected and the abstract brought up to date, the Oklahoma Historical Society may take possession of the old sod house and start repairs.

Mr. Miller reported on the publicity that he is giving the 1964 Tour in his column in the Oklahoma City Times, "The Smoking Room." The President expressed appreciation for this.

A group picture of the members of the Board of Directors was taken for publication in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

Mrs. George L. Bowman, Treasurer, reported, showing all the accounts of the Society in good condition. It was moved by Miss Seger and seconded by Mr. Bass that the Treasurer's report be accepted. The motion passed.

Mr. Bass, in making the Civil War Centennial Commission report, stated that he feels that there should be a booklet published concerning the fourteen flags that have flown over Oklahoma other than the leaflet that has been put out by Mr. Joe B. Hunt, Insurance Commissioner of Oklahoma. He passed out copies of a tentative program for the closing out of the commemoration activities. The ceremonies will begin on June 22, 1965, with the formal dedication of the Fort

Washita restoration followed by a banquet that night at Lake Texoma Lodge. On June 23, 1965, will be the commemoration of the centennial of the surrender of General Stand Watie near Fort Towson. This will formally close out the five year commemoration of the centennial of the Civil War.

In making his report on the restoration of Fort Washita, Dr. Morrison stated that the next project is to get some kind of entrance and ornamental fence along Highway 199. He also proposed a museum dealing primarily with the culture of the time, and with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations to be in conjunction with the restoration.

Mr. McIntosh, Chairman of the Historic Sites Committee, reported on what had taken place at the meeting of the Committee on March 24, 1964. He said that Jordan B. Reaves has agreed to restore the Civil War cannon of the Society that has been on loan to the Planning and Resources Board. It will be used at the commemoration of the surrender of General Stand Watie and then returned to the Oklahoma Historical Society for permanent preservation.

Mr. McIntosh reported that a committee had been appointed at the meeting to get in touch with the staff of the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board in regard to the deplorable condition of the old stockade at Fort Gibson.

Concluding his report, Mr. McIntosh said that a plan for setting up five monolith monuments in the nations of the Five Civilized Tribes was also discussed by the members of the Committee.

Judge Johnson reported on the meeting of the Fort Gibson Committee with members of the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board. The Planning and Resources Board, he said, has cancelled the lease with the Fort Gibson Round-up Club and the Oklahoma Historical Society may take over some of the properties for the purposes of preservation and restoration. He also stated, the Planning and Resources Board is loaning the Oklahoma Historical Society a picture of General Matthew Arbuckle. This will be on loan to the Society until such time as they may have need of it.

Mr. Shirk reported that he had made a contract in the form of a letter with Mr. Jordan B. Reaves concerning refurbishing the old Civil War cannon. He read this letter to the Board.

It was moved by Mr. Phillips and seconded by Mrs. Bowman that the action and plans of the Historic Sites Committee and the contract with Mr. Reaves be approved. The motion, when voted upon, passed.

The President introduced the Chairman of the European Tour Committee, Mr. R. O. Wilkin. Mr. Wilkin read the minutes of the meeting of this committee which took place on April 7, 1964. He passed around a letter from Herr Siegfried Schiemann, Secretary of the Cow-Boy Club Munchen, Munich, Germany. Because of language barriers there has been some misunderstanding, but they are presently trying to straighten these out. This tour would take place in October of 1965.

Mr. Shirk asked the pleasure of the Board in regard to this project. Mr. McBride seconded the motion made by Mr. Bass that the recommendations and actions of the Committee be approved and that plans continue. The motion passed when voted upon.

The President laid before the Board the letter of February 5, 1964, from Mr. Bill Burchardt of "Oklahoma Today" magazine commending the work of Mrs. Looney and Mrs. Williams.

Mr. McBride reported for the Publications Committee. He suggested that the Board send a complimentary letter to Mr. Joe B. Hunt for his speech at the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society earlier this morning. Mr. McBride made a motion to this effect, which was seconded by Dr. Harbour and passed by the Board.

Mr. McBride moved that the Board of Directors go on record as expressing thanks and commendation to the Oklahoma Publishing Company for the special editions of the Oklahoman and Times that they have published this week in commemoration of the Diamond Anniversary of the opening of the Unassigned Lands of Oklahoma by the Run of April 22, 1889. The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and passed by the members of the Board.

Mr. Bass moved that Mr. Robb Moore be commended by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society for his work on a map showing the "Tagaya Trail" in Oklahoma. Mr. Moore is an Oklahoma City architect. The motion was seconded by Judge Johnson, and passed by the Board.

Mrs. Bowman spoke about the 75th Anniversary celebration which was held in Kingfisher, and moved that the Kingfisher Times and Free Press be commended by the Oklahoma Historical Society for their 75th Anniversary edition. The motion was seconded by Mr. Miller and passed when put to a vote.

Mr. Shirk informed the Board that in the last will and testament of a Mrs. Nannette Lucile McMahon, of Oklahoma City, the Oklahoma Historical Society had been left a flat top grand piano, a Victorian love seat, an early 19th Century bed, and two marbletop tables. These items are antiques and are to be designated as being given in memory of Mrs. McMahon's mother, Mrs. Nannette Price Johnson. Mr. Shirk said that the will is being contested, and recommended that the Board of Directors instruct the Administrative Secretary, Mr. Fraker, to forward this will on to the office of the Attorney General and have them see that the interests of the Oklahoma Historical Society and the State of Oklahoma are protected. A motion to this effect was made by Mr. Muldrow, seconded by Dr. Harbour, and passed by the Board.

Mr. Muldrow and Judge Busby both mentioned speeches that the Administrative Secretary had made during the past quarter, and both complimented Mr. Fraker highly for these speeches.

Mr. Shirk presented to the Board Mrs. Richard Houston, the daughter-in-law of Temple Houston. Mrs. Houston was invited to remain for the rest of the meeting.

The President mentioned the exhibit of sculpture to be displayed by Willard Stone in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mr. Curtis moved that the tentative plans for the close of the commemoration of the Civil War Centennial is presented by the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission be approved by the Board. Mr. McIntosh seconded this motion, and it was passed.

Judge Johnson announced that plans were under way to unveil the statue of Mrs. Alice Brown Davis on Oklahoma Day at the World's Fair.

There being no further business, Mr. Shirk adjourned the meeting at 11:50 a.m.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED — APRIL, 1964

LIBRARY

1. *Washington Irving on Wild Horse Creek, Marker Dedication, April 7, 1963.*
   Justice of the Peace Court Docket, Logan County, Oklahoma 1894.
   Bibliography of Books by Annie Walker Burns and Lucy Kate McGhee.
   Microfilm: *Rock Island Lines, Historical Records in Oklahoma.*
   Donor: Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

2. *Major Index to Wills and Inventories of Tennessee at the D.A.R. Library, Washington, D.C.* — Annie Walker Burns
   South Carolina Pension Abstracts of the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and Indian Wars, Volume 5.—Annie Walker Burns
   Virginia Pension Abstracts of the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and Indian Wars, Volume 19. — Lucy Kate McGhee
   Donor: Mrs. Annie Walker Burns, Washington, D.C.

3. Program: "Second District Convention of the American Legion, Fort Gibson, Oklahoma, June 23, 1936"
   Donor: Q. B. Boydston, Fort Gibson, Oklahoma.

4. 3 copies *Woodward County Journal*
   Donor: Ralph G. Rose, Shattuck, Oklahoma.

5. *Archaeological Survey of Pine Creek Reservoir, McCurtain County, Oklahoma* —
   Donor: Don G. Wyckoff, Norman, Oklahoma

6. Microfilm: *Pickins-Tuscaloosa County, Alabama 1870*
   Donor: John Cheek, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

7. *Descent of Henry Head (1695-1949) in America* — Idress Head Alvord "Presented in memory of Philip A. Coulter, Jr., USN. and the others listed in this book who have gone before"
   Donor: Mrs. Herbert Lee Coulter, Meno.

8. The Campbell-Peigh Collection of Creek Chief Menawa
   Donor: Mrs. Mary A. Campbell Peigh and Mrs. Bessie Aldrich, Bessemer, Alabama.

9. *The Secret Service, The Field, the Dungeon, and the Escape* — Albert D. Richardson.
   Dames and Daughters of Colonial Days — Geraldine Brooks
   Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1907.
   Songs of the Cherokees — Anne Tennyson Holton
   Jeb Stuart — Captain John W. Thomason, Jr.
   History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1894-1955
   The Gulf Coast of Mississippi — Nola Nance Oliver

Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1878 to 1879.
   Donor: Jefferson Davis Chapter # 2255 of the United Daughters of the Confederacy through Mrs. R. W. Gimpel, Oklahoma City.

10. "Destruction of Awatobi" — Leslie McRill
    Donor: Leslie McRill, Oklahoma City

11. Microfilm: *Consolidated Index to Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Mata to Maxey.*
    Donor: Mrs. R. E. Black, Oklahoma City

12. *Missouri Newspapers: When and Where 1808-1963* — William H. Taft
    Donor: Missouri State Historical Society, Columbia, Missouri

13. Bank Book, State Bank of Amber, Oklahoma, 1918, Mrs. Kate Oliver
    Donor: Miss Beatrice Oliver, New York.

14. *Mitchell's 1844 School Atlas*
    Donor: Glenn F. Stoner, Dacoma, Oklahoma

15. Poem: "The Captain's Mules" — W. Ezra Banks
    Donor: Clyde Banks, Altus

16. *The Albert Newton Gossett Family* — John Carl Simonson
    Donor: John Carl Simonson, Oklahoma City

17. *Adam and Cain* — William H. Murray
    Who is Who in Oklahoma — Lyle and Dale Boren
    Will Rogers, His Wife's Story — Betty Rogers
    E. N. Gillespie Vs. Jesse C. Washburn, District Court of the U.S. for Western District of Oklahoma.
    Donor: G. Scott Hammonds, Oklahoma City

18. 2 copies of "The Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes"
    Donor: W. E. McIntosh, Tulsa, Oklahoma

19. Program: "Statehood Day Banquet, Boston Avenue M. E. Church South, Tulsa, November 16, 1929"
    Certificate: Appointment of Walter Ferguson as Assistant Game and Fish Warden, November 18, 1927.
    "First Message of Governor William H. Murray delivered to the Joint Session of the 13th Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, January 22, 1931"
    "Second Message of Governor William H. Murray delivered to the Joint Session of the 13th Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, February 3, 1931"
    Photograph of Captain Walter S. Ferguson and Captain Alva J. Niles
    Donor: Benton Ferguson, Tulsa, Oklahoma

20. *A Brief History of the Hallums* — Charley Hall Houston Hallum
    Donor: Charley Hall Houston Hallum, Marlow, Oklahoma

21. "Some Talk About Lindsborg" — Selma Lind
    Donor: Elizabeth Jadesborg, Lindsborg, Kansas.

22. Autograph Letter: William H. Murray, June 15, 1944
    Donor: Nell E. Reaves, Oklahoma City

23. 2 maps "Kiamichi Vacationland in the Ouachita National Forest"
    Donor: John T. Koes, U.S. Forest Service, Hot Springs, Arkansas

24. Newspaper Clippings: "Battle of Horseshoe Bend"
    Donor: Mrs. Mary A. Peigh, Bessemer, Alabama

25. "The Symbol and The Sword" Washington, D.C., 1860-1865 Publication of the District of Columbia Civil War Centennial Commission.

    Map: "Civil War Centennial Map of Washington, D. C."

    Donor: George Wm. Fisher, Jr., Washington, D. C.

26. Newspaper clipping: "Seminole Mayor Joins Oklahoma Historical Society"

    Donor: Milt Phillips, Seminole, Oklahoma

27. Governor's Message to 4th Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma, January 13, 1897."

    "Message of the Governor to the 5th Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma, January 11, 1899."

    "Message to the Governor to the 3rd Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma, January 8, 1895."

    2 Oklahoma Geological Survey Bulletins, March, 1922

    Donor: State Historical Society of North Dakota, Bismark, N. D.

28. The Arnold and Ann Hall Collection
    The West — Census 1880 — Robert P. Porter: Special Agent of the 10th Census on Wealth, Debt, Taxation and Railroads.
    Photograph: Hand carved cane done by Big Jim, Chief of Absentee Shawnee in 1887.
    Cane itself in collection of Ann Hall.

    Presidential Memorial Hand Bill — September, following the death of President Garfield.

    Original Newspaper Supplement No. 2 of *The Hutchinson* (Kansas) *Daily News* for September 1887.

    Original *Harper's Weekly*, New York, Saturday, March 27, 1858.

    Original *Life Illustrated*, New York, Saturday, January 16, 1858.

    Original *National Intelligencer*, Washington, Thursday, Sept. 5, 1816.

    Original *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, Mass., Wednesday, Sept. 25, 1793.

    Original *Daily National Intelligencer*, Washington; Friday, November 8th, 1844.

    Original *Daily National Intelligencer*, Washington; Tuesday, March 1, 1836.

    Original *New York Daily Tribune*, Wednesday, January 23, 1856.

    Original *New York Commercial Advertiser*, New York, Tuesday, Dec. 1, 1835.

    Original *New-York American*, Friday, November 25, 1831.

    Original *New-York American*, Tuesday, November 9, 1830.

    Original *The Spring Valley Sun*, Spring Valley, Wisconsin; Thursday December 28, 1905 containing article entitled "The Statehood Question—Likelihood of the Admission of Oklahoma and Indian Territory."

    Donor: Mrs. Arnold (Ann) Hall, Marthasville, Missouri

29. *History of Marion County, Missouri.*

    Donor: Louise De Garis, Oklahoma City

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION

Indian Voices, June and October 1963, Feb. and April 1964
Donor: Robert K. Thomas, Editor, Indian Voices, University of Chicago

Hawaii's Revised Tax System — Robert M. Kamins.
Donor: Industrial Relations Center, University of Hawaii

Oklahoma Genealogical Society Quarterly, Dec. 1963 and June 1959 Supplement
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

8 documents having to do with citizenship of Hattie A. Steward Perkins in Choctaw Nation.
Donor: Mrs. Adaline Perkins Hasson, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Jicarilla Apache Tribe of New Mexico vs. U.S., No. 22-2

Kiowa, Comanche & Apache Tribes of Indians vs. U.S., No. 257
Opinion of Indian Claims Commission

Cherokee Tribe of Indians vs. U.S., No. 173
Opinion of Indian Claims Commission

Cherokee Tribe of Indians vs. U.S., No. 173-a
Finding of Fact
Opinion of Indian Claims Commission

Cherokee Nation vs. U.S., No. 190
Finding of Fact
Opinion of Indian Claims Commission

Cherokee Freedmen, et al., vs. U.S., No. 123
Findings of Fact
Opinion of Indian Claims Commission

Northern Cheyenne Indians of Tongue River Reservation, Montana vs. U.S., No. 329C
Additional Findings of Fact

Red Lake, Pembina & White Earth Bands vs. U.S., No. 18-a; Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians vs. U.S., No. 113; Little Shell Band of Chippewa Indians vs. U.S., No. 191.
Order adding finding of fact, and Amended Final *award* et al

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, No. 18-B
Amended Interlocutory Order
Order Amending Finding of Fact
Opinion of Indian Claims Commission

Creek Nation vs. U.S., No. 21
Statement
Opinion of Indian Claims Commission

Creek Nation vs. U.S., No. 167
Opinion of Indian Claims Commission

Creek Nation vs. U.S., No. 168
Opinion of Indian Claims Commission

Creek Nation vs. U.S., No. 275
Brief of Creek Nation, and plaintiff's request for findings of fact

Creek Nation vs. U.S., No. 276
Brief of Creek Nation, Plaintiff's request for findings of fact, and plaintiff's reply brief

Crow Tribe of Indians vs. U.S., No. 54
Order denying request for additional compensation for expert witnesses

Findings of fact
Opinion accompanying order denying motion for rehearing, etc.
Opinions of Nov. 17, 1961, Feb. 12, 1962 and Dec. 26, 1962

Absentee Delaware Tribe of Oklahoma vs. U.S., No. 337
Additional Findings of fact
Opinion of Commission

Duwamish Tribe of Indians vs. U.S., No. 109
Additional Findings of Fact
Opinion of Commission

Fort Belknap Indian Community vs. U.S., No. 250
Findings of Fact
Opinion of Commission

Hualapai Tribe of Arizona vs. U.S., No. 190
Findings of Fact
Opinion of Commission

Iowa Tribe of Kansas, Nebraska & Okla, Sac & Fox of Oklahoma and Missouri and Sac & Fox of Mississippi in Iowa vs. U.S., No. 135
Additional Findings of Fact
Opinion of Indian Claims Commission

Iowa Tribe of Kansas, Nebraska, et al., vs. U.S., No. 209
Findings of Fact

Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas and Oklahoma vs. U.S., No. 316
Opinion of Commission

Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas, et al; Peoria tribe of Oklahoma; and Robinson Skye on behalf of Wea Nation vs. U.S., No. 317 and 314c
Opinion of Commission

Klamath and Modoc Tribes, et al., vs. U.S., No. 100
Findings of Fact
Opinion of Commission

Lower Pend O'Oreille or Kalispel Tribe vs. U.S., No. 94
Additional Findings of Fact
Opinion of Commission

Nez Perce Tribe vs. U.S., No. 175-B
Findings of Fact
Opinion of Commission

Emigrant New York Indians, et al., vs. U.S., No. 75
Supplemental Findings of Fact
Opinion of the Commission

Nooksack Tribe of Indians, et al., vs. U.S., No. 46
Additional Findings of Fact
Opinion of the Commission

Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin vs. U.S., No. 159
Findings of Fact

Otoe & Missouria Tribe vs. U.S., No. 11-a; Iowa Tribe of Kansas, Nebraska and Oklahoma. et al; Omaha Tribe of Nebraska, Sac & Fox Tribe of Oklahoma, Missouri & Iowa vs. U.S., No. 138.
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Letter dated Nov. 20, 1963 from Augusta I.C. Metcalfe to B.B. Chapman, containing her drawing of hobbled horse on left hand corner of letterhead and road runner on envelope.

Photostats of telegram of April 17, 1894, and letters dated July 13, 14, 19 and 24, 1894 and August 3, 1894, in re Enid "Railroad War."

Photostat of affidavit of Robert L. Owen dated Oct. 4, 1893, in re Indian allottees on the Rock Island and Santa Fe railroads in Cherokee Outlet

Photostat of endorsement page of letter dated Nov. 16, 1906 from Secretary of War, relative to the completion of the military reservation of Fort Sill and the inclusion in it of the Wichita Forest reservation.

Photostat of page 17, showing signatures on Contract of May 17, 1893, by which Cherokees relinquished all claims to the Outlet.

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Oil Derricks at Cleveland, O.T. 1905
Otoe Indian School at Otoe Agency 1905
Otoe Indian Agency and Day School Building 1905
Intrance of Pawnee Indian School at Pawnee 1905
Boarding School at Otoe Indian Agency 1905
Birds-eye view of Otoe Indian Agency 1905
Pawnee Indian Baptist Mission
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Spring in the Park at Sulphur before 1900
Hotel at Sulphur, Indian Territory before 1900
Park at Sulphur before 1900
View of Sulphur, Indian Territory before 1900 (three pictures)
Coal Mine South of Ardmore, Indian Territory 1900
Dugout, six women and a baby
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Fire at Ardmore, Indian Territory
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Autumn 1964

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Cover: The front cover shows stage and settings of the first theatre in Guthrie, 1889. The print is in the Museum Collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society, taken from an original photo.

Note: The above "Table of Contents" is page 245 in this issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* for Autumn, 1964 (Vol. XLII, No. 3). The summer issue (Vol. XLII, No. 2) ends with page 128, having repeated pagination 1 to 116 of the spring issue (Vol. XLII, No.1) by oversight, in the change of printer under the new contract let by the State for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1964.

TERRILL'S *PURGATORY*: FIRST PLAY PRINTED IN OKLAHOMA

*By Paul T. Nolan**

Ira N. Terrill's *A Purgatory Made of a Paradise,* a "tragedy in 3 acts, depicting early day scene in Oklahoma" (1907), holds its "first" position in State history on negative grounds. It was neither the first play written in nor copyrighted from Oklahoma. As early as 1889, Mary Isabella Hassin of Blackburn, Oklahoma, wrote and copyrighted *The Boomers; The Opening and the Settling of the Cherokee Strip;* and between *The Boomers* and Terrill's dramatic composition, over a half dozen other plays were written in and copyrighted from Oklahoma. Not only were these plays not printed, however; but seemingly all have been lost, a fate that seems certain to have befallen *Purgatory,* too, if Terrill had not given his manuscript to a printer.

Terrill's play is now the earliest extant drama written by a resident of Oklahoma dealing with the Oklahoma scene, but, again, it was not the first play written on an Oklahoma subject. Not only *The Boomers,* but seemingly at least two others—George and Warren Noble's *The Train Wreckers* and J. Frank Guadaria's *Paradise Regained* —used the Oklahoma Territory and State history as the subject matter for its drama.[1]

Considering the history of Terrill and his play, however, one is less concerned that *Purgatory* holds "first" honors with qualifications than he is that the play exists at all. Terrill with his actions, both private and public, and with his pen (in and out of prison) made enough enemies in the new Territory so that even as late as 1929, after he had been dead for several years, he was still remembered by one of his contemporaries, Dan W. Peery, as "a wild-eyed, vicious, beastly anarchist."[2] It should come as no surprise, therefore, that copies of his plays were not treasured. A citizenry unconcerned with preserving such manuscripts as *The Boomers* was not likely to make a place

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[1] See article, Paul T. Nolan, "The Boomers: Oklahoma Playwrights Opened the Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XLI (Autumn, 1963), pp. 248-252, for a general coverage of playwriting activity in Oklahoma from the beginning to World War I.

[2] Dan W. Peery, "The First Two Years," [Part One], *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VII, (December, 1929), p. 447.

on its bookshelf for *Purgatory;* and a survey of the public and university libraries of Oklahoma, during the spring of 1964, failed to uncover a single copy of Terrill's "notorious play."

Although Terrill had his play printed, thus making it generally available, today only a single copy of it is known to be in existence. The Library of Congress, which owns this single copy, moreover, seemingly did not keep either of the typed manuscript copies which Terrill first submitted to the United States Copyright Office for protection.[3]

It is for these several reasons—the historical interest of the play as the first printed dramatic composition of Oklahoma, the fact that the subject matter of the play is taken from events in Oklahoma history, and the general lack of availability of the one extant copy—that the play is here being reviewed. No claims are here made for its worth as literature, nor is any argument intended as to the validity of Terrill's view of the settlement of the Territory. It is, rather, that the play is here presented as an artifact of Oklahoma history which should be of some value as a footnote in the history of the settlement.

I

Ira N. Terrill was, whatever else may be said of him, an interesting minor figure in the early history of the state, a man who attracted strong defenders and attackers. As early as 1890, one state historian, Marion Tuttle Rock, wrote of him:[4]

> In nearly all legislative bodies will be found representatives of classical sublimity and honest grandeur. Hon. Ira N. Terrill, Alliance member from Payne County, is one of the latter class. His herculean blows in defense of the people's rights made him one of the most prominent members of the first legislature of the Territory. He was brave and fearless in the defense of any and all principles that he conceived to be just, and whether in the majority or minority was a matter of supreme indifference to him.

Rock, who seems to have been Terrill's first "biographer," knew him well enough to be able to list some of the facts of his life, even those belonging to Terrill's career before his entry into Oklahoma. Rock wrote:[5]

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[3] *Dramatic Compositions Copyrighted in the United States 1870 to 1916* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Printing Office), 1918, *passim*; and correspondence with the Library of Congress.

[4] *Illustrated History of Oklahoma* (Topeka, Kansas: C. B. Hamilton & Son Company, 1890), p. 256.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

Mr. Terrill first became prominently noticed during the convention called at Guthrie in the summer of 1889 for the purpose of organizing a provisional government of Oklahoma, in which he took a deep interest and active part. He there gave evidence of a sound judgment and honest heart, which he so ably demonstrated in Oklahoma's first legislature. Clark County, Illinois, was his birth-place, an event that occurred April 17th, 1853. He was educated in the schools of his native State, and has devoted his life largely to agricultural pursuits. In 1864 he removed to Sedgwick County, Kansas, where he resided until the wave of civilization swept over Oklahoma, when he took advantage of the tide and landed in Payne County, where he made himself and family a happy home. He was united in marriage in 1874 to Miss E. J. Parsons, of Decatur, Illinois, and they have a family of four children, two sons and two daughters.

Rock's judgement of Terrill's worth, although this was obviously shared by enough of Terrill's neighbors to elect him to public office, seems to have been a "minority report" in Oklahoma. More typical of the general view—although probably more vehemently expressed than most—was that voiced by Dan W. Peery; "It is hard to understand the reason why seemingly intelligent people would elect such a wild-eyed, vicious, beastly anarchist as Ira N. Terrill to the legislature,"[6] Peery wrote a decade after Terrill's death.

Peery, like Rock, recognized that Terrill possessed qualities that would lead him to success in public affairs; but, unlike Rock, he had a strong conviction that Oklahoma was not the place for such affairs. "It is true," he wrote, "he was rather a cunning talker who always posed as a friend of the people, but a man so crude in his methods that he could never deceive the people a second time. He would have been in his element in one of those anarchist meetings in the notorious 'Hay Market' in Chicago."[7]

Peery's objections to Terrill—which he later justified in terms of Terrill's personal behavior—started first, Peery freely admits, in a political dispute. Terrill, Peery believed, "betrayed" a good cause, the proper placement of the Territorial capital.

But once Terrill had shown himself on the "wrong" side, Peery found additional reasons for his objections. Peery wrote:[8]

The writer remembers distinctly that on one occasion the Hon. W. P. McCartney was a member of the Council from Kingfisher County, and under the rules had a perfect right on the floor of the House. Now Terrill was bitter against McCartney and he arose in his seat and in an angry voice demanded that the speaker should have

[6]The First Two Years" [Part One], p. 447-448.
[7]*Ibid.*
[8]*Ibid.*

McCartney expelled from the floor of the House. The speaker refused to do so, saying that McCartney had the right to a seat on the floor of the House. Terrill became more abusive and finally said that as the speaker would not put McCartney out he would, and raising the top of his desk grabbed a big forty-five and said he would give McCartney just one minute to get out of the House. Just as he placed his gun on the desk, the sergeant-at-arms, J. N. Jerome, stepped up behind him and grabbed the gun from him. If McCartney was frightened in the least, no one knew it, but the writer [Peery] will concede that he was scared as he was right between Terrill and McCartney.

Although Peery could have given more details about Terrill's life than did Rock, he found his job as Boswell for the playwright-legislator distasteful. "There is no use discussing his character further," he says, "the record of the criminal courts in his record. He was convicted of the murder of a man in Guthrie and served a part of his time in Lansing, Kansas."[9]

Terrill, of course, had maintained that his conviction for this "crime" was unjust; but Peery not only considered his arguments not worth repeating, but he even objected to the fact that Terrill made them. "While in the penitentiary," Peery wrote of Terrill's literary efforts to free himself, "he kept up a constant agitation and he was the theme of many newspaper stories, most of them inspired by Terrill himself." That Terrill was successful in this campaign impressed Peery not at all. In fact, he viewed Terrill's success as one more piece of evidence against the man's character: "He caused so much disturbance and insubordination," Peery reported, "that Kansas was glad to get rid of him."[10]

Terrill's efforts, after his release from prison, to effect some reforms were viewed with contempt by Peery: "He [Terrill] had secured a number of pictures taken at the Kansas penitentiary, where Oklahoma was confining its convicts, and from them he made slides and gave 'lectures' illustrated by magic lantern pictures telling of the horror of that Kansas institution."[11] Peery was certain that Terrill was insincere in this campaign, too; and he was able to point out with obvious satisfaction that if Terrill did not like prison conditions in Kansas, he was himself responsible. Terrill had been "the father of the bill" that sent Oklahoma prisoners to Kansas to work in the coal mines "to earn their board and keep."[12]

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[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] "The First Two Years" [Part Two], *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII (April, 1930), p. 94.

Even Terrill's later work as a geologist and oil man was viewed with scorn and suspicion by Peery who concluded: "He afterwards, developed into a great 'Geologist' and regular 'Rock Hound' and was selling leases in Texas."[13]

The disinterested observer looking back at Terrill's career cannot help but be impressed by the variety of talents the man displayed. He was a farmer, a legislator, a prison-miner, a lecturer, a geologist—with or without quotation marks, a reformer, a playwright; and in spite of Peery's refusal to take any of Terrill's successes seriously, the fact that a man convicted of murder could effect his release from prison and then build a new career suggests some qualities in the man beyond the ability to talk cleverly.

Basic to all of Peery's objections, of course, was Terrill's politics. Peery was not only a conservative and an ardent segregationist, but, perhaps of more importance, he was a member of the party that favored Oklahoma City for the Territorial capital. Terrill was—or, from Peery's view, *posed as*—a liberal, "a champion of the people" and, in Peery's words, Terrill had joined with "the Guthrie crowd" to defeat the bill to make Oklahoma City the capital. "He betrayed us," Peery argued.[14]

Even allowing for Peery's bias, however, it seems obvious that Terrill was a man who could arouse violent support and violent opposition, a quality that should have made his play, *A Purgatory Made of a Paradise*, a drama of some power.

II

When Terrill completed his play and submitted a typed manuscript for copyright protection, January 2, 1907, he was fifty-four years old. He had spent the past dozen years as the central figure in some violent, contemporary actions—a legislative battle, a gun fight, a campaign for a release from prison, another campaign for prison reform. If one were to judge from this career, one should judge that *Purgatory* should have the quality of the modern plays by Jean Genet, also a former convict.

There is no question, moreover, that Terrill intended his play to do service in the battle against his enemies. "Could I but sing as Shakespeare sang," he wrote, "I'd tell the story full. I'd sing of monstrous robber gangs/ That flesh from breast does pull—The deamons, shylocks, and the knaves/ Who curse our once fair land/ And rob our cradles

[13]"The First Two Years" [Part One], p. 448.

[14]"The First Two Years" [Part Two], pp. 104, 107.

and our graves/ To fill the greedy hand." This play, Terrill hoped, would be a "clanging bell" that would not stop until justice returned to Oklahoma, "By ballot or by ball" and until punishment was given to those "men who thus do steal the home . . . who wish to steal by law."[15]

Unfortunately for those who like the romance of the creed that makes the poet the "natural legislator" of mankind, Terrill's targets were beyond the range of his poetic capabilities. In spite of the fact that he went to the expense of having *Purgatory* printed, so little appeal did the play have that there is no evidence it was ever produced, or —except for its inclusion in the copyright file records—that it was even read. This neglect of the play, moreover, resulted from neither the efforts of Terrill's political enemies nor from the enmity of insensitive critics. Terrill simply over-matched himself when he elected to use the form of the heroic drama as the vehicle for his protest. The entire play is written in heroic couplets, yoked together with forced rhyme. The quality of "strange violence" may be sampled by considering the opening scene of the play:

ACT ONE

(*First Scene—A choice piece of land—*
(*Enter Traveler.* *Enter Knight.*)

T. —Hold! Who comes here?

K. —An humble knight
Who holds as claim this lovely site.
I purpose here to make a home
For wife and children; soon to come.
If home you want, my friend, I'll see
If claims near mine yet vacant be.

Shakespeare's "influence" on Terrill was disastrous. But seemingly Terrill felt that the loftiness of his sentiments and the rightness of his ire could be properly expressed only in poetic diction. Halfway through the play, however, Terrill loses patience with the dramatic form itself. Much of the play is little more than a rhymed recitation of grievances, interrupted by such short scenes as that which opened Act One.

Terrill's problem as a playwright was in part a lack of decision on the kind of composition he intended. Just as is

[15] All citations from the plays are taken from the only known extant copy: Ira N. Terrill, Sr., *A Purgatory Made of a Paradise: A Tragedy Depicting Early-day Scenes in Oklahoma; In Three Acts* (No location or printer), 1907, 58 pp.

in the plot, he is concerned both with the abstract qualities of justice and honor and with the concrete problems of land and legal papers, so in the form, he is one moment playwright—showing his action, the next narrator—explaining it, and the next orator—calling his followers to take some physical action.

This same lack of concern with his dramatic materials is evidenced in the characterization. The "personnel" of the play are an odd mixture of drama types: "heroic characters"—The Traveler (seemingly the representative new settler), The Knight (Terrill himself), and the Knight's daughter (purity); "Humour characters," in the style of *Little Orphan Annie*, not of Ben Jonson—Sooner, Hunter, Bill Diceheart, Boomer, Halfwit, Acuss Wise, Buck, Boodle, Citizen, Farmer Bean, and Bondsman; and "realistic characters," seemingly drawn from Terrill's contemporaries—Watkins, Blakeman, and Ben Harrison.

The theme of Terrill's *Purgatory* is clear enough. The Oklahoma Territory is being despoiled by dishonest men who are misusing the law to rob the honest settlers of their just claims, and only the rule of righteous force can stop them. His flights of rhetoric, however, and his central action are somewhat confusing, not only because he frequently sacrifices meaning for rhyme and meter, but also because he works through indirection. Seemingly his loose association of the events of the play would have made more sense to Terrill's neighbors in 1907. But all the modern reader knows is that an injustice has been done by men who possess not a single virtue.

What the play lacks as serious drama, however, is compensated for by the worth of the document as an artifact of minor historical interest. Terrill was one of the most active, and most interesting, of the minor figures in the first days of the Oklahoma settlement. Although, as yet, little serious attention has been given to his part in that history, it is quite obvious that neither Rock's glowing tribute nor Peery's slashing attack can be taken as an accurate account of the man and his role. *Purgatory*, oddly enough, can be used to support both views. It shows Terrill as a man whose convictions are strong. It also shows him as a man whose convictions are without restraint, a man capable of taking the law into his own hands, both the law of the land and the literary laws that govern the nature of drama.

SHAWNEE INDIAN FESTIVAL: THE BREAD DANCE

By Velma Nieberding

Foreword

The Loyal Shawnee tribal members living in and near Whiteoak, Oklahoma, are those persons of Shawnee Indian blood who by Agreement dated June 7, 1869, became incorporated with the Cherokeė Nation in the present Oklahoma, and the lineal descendents of such persons. They are a part of the main body of the Shawnee Tribe of Indians. They are unorganized in terms of the Oklahoma Welfare Act and have no Constitution and by-laws.

In order that they might have authority to act and speak on certain tribal matters, they have been organized into a "general council." This council can speak and act in behalf of the tribe in connection with necessary legislation before judgment monies can be paid to tribal members, and for defining those who will share in the distribution of any judgment funds.

The Shawnees have recently had a claim allowed. A final judgment was entered by the U. S. Indian Claims Commission on July 27, 1959 in favor of the Shawnee Nation as it existed in 1854, which was for lands set apart for the Shawnee Indians by the United States pursuant to the Treaty of November 7, 1825, and the Treaty of August 8, 1831, and ceded to the United States by a United Shawnee Tribe under the Treaty of May 10, 1854.

The Shawnee Tribal Business Committee (Loyal Shawnees) was established on December 4, 1960, at a meeting held at Whiteoak, with Area Director, Paul L. Fickinger of the Muskogee Area Office presiding. The Business Committee officers consist of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, a Secretary-Treasurer and four members, who shall be elected by secret ballot and who shall serve a term of two years.

There also is a "Grievance Committee" which can investigate complaints of misconduct, or other acts of the members of the Shawnee Tribal Business Committee and can request the Chairman of the Council to act upon such complaints.

The present elected Business Committee officers are

Jerome Shawnee, Chairman; Fred Halfmoon, Vice-Chairman; Mrs. Elaine Chibitty, Secretary-Treasurer. Councilmen are, Lorenzo Carpenter, Sam Perry, Victoria Nolen and Bill Shawnee. The members of the Grievance Committee are Mrs. Emmaline Carpenter, Bert Ellis and Ruby White Diebold.

The "Loyal Shawnees" are historically known as those Shawnee tribal members who remained loyal to the United States during the Civil War. They were living in Kansas at that time, and because Union soldiers appropriated certain properties belonging to them, the Loyal Shawnees entered into a treaty with the Government which was ratified by Congress, October 14, 1868. The Government agreed to reimburse them for the livestock and other properties which had been appropriated for the use of the Army. Legislation was passed in 1929 to pay the Loyal Shawnees and payments were made through the Muskogee Area office about 1931 and 1932. At that time this group of Loyal Shawnees numbered 145.

Although they are enrolled on the Cherokee Tribal rolls, the Muskogee Area Office maintains a list of those Shawnees who were incorporated among the Cherokee in 1869, by purchase of the right of settlement within the Cherokee Nation.

There also is in Oklahoma, the Mixed Band of Seneca and Shawnee Indians, now called "The Eastern Shawnee," under the jurisdiction of the Miami Agency office; and the Absentee Shawnee, under the jurisdiction of the Anadarko Area Office.*

A small booklet, outlining the ceremonies of the Loyal Shawnees, was given to the writer by Mrs. George Valliere, of Pawnee. The Booklet was privately printed for the use of tribal members. Mrs. Valliere, a member of the Loyal Shawnee tribe, is the former Miss Anita Squirrel. She is of the opinion that the book was compiled by her grandmother, Mrs. Daisy Walker and three other elderly women of the tribe, who supervise the annual tribal ceremonies. These are Mrs. Anna Dick, Mrs. Rosa Secondine, and Mrs.

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* From information furnished the writer by Mrs. Marie Wadley, Tribal Affairs Officer, Muskogee Area Office. For brief notes on the history of the Shawnee in Oklahoma see Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), pp. 240, 241, 242, 243-44; also see Frank H. Harris. "Seneca Sub-Agency, 1832-1838," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLII, No. 2 (Summer, 1964), pp. 75-94.

Julia Dick. The account begins with the Origin of the Shawnees:[1]

The belief of this tribe of Indians of man's creation, is as follows:

There were no human beings on this earth; there were spirits, or angels in the air, or above the earth, existing as alive and were alive, and they saw the earth was so beautiful and no one to attend the soil. And they said, "This earth is so beautiful and it is not right; there is no one inhabiting this place." And there was a cedar tree nearby and as they talked, a voice came from the cedar tree and said to them:

You have been given the power and why do you not just say the word and create a man and a woman". And then they said the word, "We shall create man and woman."

And they tilled the soil and multiplied greatly.

The Booklet continues:[1a]

The Ceremonial Bread Dance

In the Spring, about the month of April or May, and some time about or after the new moon, and about the time when the Dogwood begins to bud, it is time then for the council to call a general meeting.

First, the women will call a meeting to talk about the Bread Dance and this must be done in the morning and before the date is set for encampment. The men pray for the women.

This is the prayer: "Now we have met here this day at one of our homes to think about what our God Grandmother has given us. Now when I look at you I see your head bowed and then I went and raised your head up and cleaned your mouth and then I used this white cloth and cleaned your eyes and when I got through cleaning your eyes you can now see everything clear. And then I cleaned your heart and now your thoughts can reach God's kingdom and now you can think about everything that God has given you, to worship Him and think good; and this is the advice we have given you men from us mothers and elderly women".

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[1] The Shawnees arrogated to themselves a superiority not only over whites but over other tribes of Indians. According to Rev. James B. Finley, in "Life Among the Indians" (New York, Eaton & Mains) at a convention held at Fort Wayne in 1803 one of their principal men boasted "The Master of Life, who was himself an Indian, made the Shawnees before any other of the human race; and they sprang from His brain. He gave them all the knowledge he himself possessed and placed them upon the great island, and all the other red people are descended from the Shawnees."

[1a] Special permission was given the writer (V. N.) by the Elders of the Shawnee in Ottawa County to use here the excerpts from the Booklet outlining the ceremonies of the "Loyal Shawnees."

At the same time the prayer is repeated to the women from a leading man. The same prayer is used. After this the men follow and shake hands with all the women standing in a row and the women repeat the same ceremony in their turn.

Now at this time the elder men leave to attend the sacred promise and in this prayer a blessing is asked God for all human beings and everything; to bless this mother earth, to be bountiful and the springs and the rivers to flow forever.[2]

When the men return from this duty then the women will set the time for the camping. The men will agree with them. This is for this part until they camp.

Now on the day set they camp and about the second or third day after they camp they pick out the women to make the bread, which is made of white Indian flour corn, and skinned in ashes lye, and pounded into flour in a mortar with a large rounded pole, smoothly made to pound the corn.[3]

They select the men to dance and whoever is chosen among the elder men, they have two men as ushers and they help in doing the work. It is the ushers who go and get the whiteoak wood and it is about three inches through; and they cut the bottom to the center and upper part and then upeard; and they split while it is standing up. They make a hoop two feet across in size and it is called a blessing to whoever it is in season to wear it.[4]

In the Spring it is the woman's place to place it on a man's shoulders, who is to take the lead in the ceremonial

[2] In most tribal religions the earth is held to be sacred and venerated in the role of "mother." Tecumseh, at the great Council of Vincennes in 1811, exclaimed "My father is the sun and the earth is my mother. I will recline upon her bosom."

The "sacred promise" may be similar to one related by Mrs. Nancy Chouteau to Rev. Joah Spencer, Missionary to the Shawnee Indians in Kansas, 1858-1860 (Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. X, 1907-08) "Another religious practice among the Shawnees when they were in Kansas was observed once a year. The women carried wood and made a big fire. At midnight the chief brought out a mysterious bundle and took from it some great long feathers. The men dressed themselves in these (putting them into their hair was the usual custom) and sang. If while they were singing they could hear 'The Mother Spirit' sing, that was a sign the world was not coming to an end that year."

. . . . . .

[3] To be chosen to prepare the corn and make the ceremonial bread is a high, tribal honor.

[4] A Bread Dance is held also in Autumn.

dance. In the fall dance it is the man's time to place it on the women (leader's) shoulders.

Who places this hoop? The last elder women on the seat and whoever follows hereafter and for the men it has been the rule that the speaker or the one who says the prayer, places the hoop on the woman's shoulders for a blessing. The man or woman receiving this is supposed to say "thank you."

And now the making of the blessing of the hoop. Different seeds are tied on the hoop. The hoop is made this way, as we said before. It should be two feet in diameter around. The women start the hoop in the Spring and the men in the Fall. Now on the left side of the hoop from the woman who starts it, there will be four grains of Indian corn (white) and four bundles tied with a white cloth four inches square, tied on the left side of the hoop. There will be four bundles of beans; Kentucky Wonders, I suppose, could be used. It used to be the beans called "King Beans"; and on the same side there will be four pumpkin seeds tied in the same way, four bundles; and four cucumber seeds tied in a bundle, four bundles with four seeds in each bundle and four bundles of red hominy corn with four grains in each bundle, tied on as the rest, in rotation.

Now the men will tie on, leaving about a four inch space, a piece of deer tail with a buckskin string and next a little piece of wild turkey feather and a little piece of coon tail and a little piece of skunk tail. Now, joining up from this the women tie the corn again in the same way as the first time and everthing as mentioned in the first starting, and then the men tie the deer, wild turkey feather, coon tail and skunk tail as before. Now it is finished.

Now the women start sewing the football.[5] A buckskin is used and is stuffed with hair which they manage to keep at all times. The size of the ball is a woman's hand spread out in a circle and in two pieces, and sewed with a long buckskin string, the size less than a quarter of an inch.

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[5] Because the football is used ceremonially it is taken down each season and preserved by the elders of the tribe. The ball is more round than oblong. Mrs. Chouteau (Kan. Hist. Coll. op. cit.) described the game as played by the Shawnees as "rather a combination of football and basketball. The men on one side, the women on the other. The women were allowed to run with the ball and throw it, but the men had to kick it." Wagers were made on the game but it was always stopped before sundown, the Shawnees believing that if they played after that someone would be crippled. Also, the game is not played after the corn is knee-high in the Spring.

The women have also women ushers who help the elder women in any way needed. Now, in picking out the dancers: The women are supposed to prepare the bread (as said before) and it used to be that one dozen women and men were chosen, and the men were to be the dancers. But now the Indians are getting so scattered out they have to make out with as many as we can get. The first four women chosen were to make forty little breads and one large bread; the next four women were to make thirty small breads and one large bread; the next four women made twenty small breads and one large bread.[6]

The first two women skinned and pounded their corn and baked their bread first in a dutch oven. The leader bakes her bread on the east side of the fire; the second one to the leader bakes her bread on the west side. Before they start to bake the bread, it is the usher's place to cook the beans and pumpkin in a brass kettle ready to put in the cornmeal bread. The leader uses beans, the second one uses pumpkin and everyone uses beans and pumpkin. Last the elder women bake their bread the same as the dancers.

The day of the ceremonial starts. The beef is purchased and the women cook it in large brass kettles.[7] The dancing leader is supposed to cut the meat first, she and her helper, and it goes on until they all take part. In the broth where the meat has been cooked, dry corn of some kind is cooked until tender, after the meat is taken out.

Now, at this time, the stomp ground is prepared. It is cleaned and swept by using buck bushes placed on a solid, new-cut stick of any kind. The leader, known as the Queen, marks the ground four ways. She takes the northeast corner and the second one [woman] sweeps the northwest corner; the third one, sweeps the southeast corner and the fourth one sweeps the southwest corner.

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[6] If a woman is in the menstrual period, she may not help in the preparation of the bread, play in the football game or even enter the dance grounds during the ceremonies.

[7] The kettles are suspended over the fire by ceremonially-cut poles strengthened by wild grape vines. The writer was not permitted to photograph the campfire where the beef is cooked. In the olden days the meat was obtained by specially-chosen hunters. Stated Nancy Chouteau in the account by Rev. Spencer (Kansas Historical Collections *op. cit.*) "In the Fall of each year a certain number of men, five I believe, are sent out on a hunt. They stay three days. On the third day, when they are returning, and are near enough to be heard, they fire their guns and the men and women in camp go out to meet them. The hunters are taken off their horses and sent to their wigwams to rest. The game is cooked and put in a pile on the ground, leaves having been spread on the ground first. They have also a pile of bread which has been made of white corn pounded in a mortar for the occasion."

The men ushers call out for the women to bring in the bread. The Queen, the woman head dancer, goes and spreads a tablecloth on the center of the stomp ground where the bread will be placed. The small breads are spilled in the center; the large breads are placed by the ushers on the northeast corner. The women dancers march in from the south side. The Queen places her bread by that of the dancing leader and then on down with the other women, where they make a U turn and go to their seats.

The women and the ushers help the elders in every way, as told by the elders. Now the men ushers bring the meat that has been cooked and place it near the west side of the bread. Now everyone is seated. The public also is invited to be seated.

The drum is painted criscross and all around with Indian paint and the speaker rises and tells the dancers to kindly tell the singers to sing for them when it is their turn to dance. Now they start dancing. The women dance three times alone, and the men dance three times. The women dance in opposite lines when the men dance, and the last dance is called the "pumpkin dance." Men and women dance side by side, another man and woman are chosen to lead this last dance.

Now the dance ceremonies are over and the speaker says the ritual prayer. He says;

> Now we are through with these ceremonial dances. Our elder mother women are glad they are able to carry this through as God and Grandmother would have it to be. They are glad to see us this way, looking so well and strong and we ask God and Grandmother to bless this world and everything that grows on this earth; to bless the springs and rivers that will flow forever; to bless the sun and moon that they shall give us light forever; and to bless the corn that we will plant, for it to grow and bear plentiful; and we ask that the beans we plant, for them to grow and be plentiful.
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> And there is the pumpkin to be blessed to grow and bear plentiful and spread out the vines beautifully, and there is the cucumber for it to grow and spread out its vines and bear plentiful, and there is the muskmelon for it to grow and spread out its vines and bear plentiful.
>
> To bless the animals, they should grow strong and beautiful and bear plentiful. And now we ask the Thunder Gods to give us rain every so often to moisten the ground. We ask the trees to be blessed and to grow strong and large. And now we ask East, West, South and North, and just somewhere here we ask that these words be taken before God and Grandmother. When they looked over these words they gave us their blessings and said, "That is the way it shall be, as my children have asked."

Now after the speaker sits down he rises again and says "After we have our suppers we will dance for joy tonight". The food is then passed around.

And from the beginning a thought has been arranged (concerning the feast) for buying the beef and who may be able to furnish the corn. I believe this part was left out. Also, after the ball game they come back and dance a set or two.

Another part that was left out above: The next morning after the dancers are elected, the men gather at the stomping ground at daylight and start a fire with a flint rock and dotty out of old wood.

A speaker should speak in the night dance after about the fourth set and say we are so glad that all of you are here to help us in this dance and we ask you to speak a few words for the good of the order that each of you be careful, for we are not here for any foolishness and we don't want to see anyone get in trouble in any way but to enjoy yourselves while you are here. Try and keep an even mind and do not lose your self-control; for we make our own happiness or unhappiness as we obey or disobey.

Now for the Greencorn Dance. It is held just when most everyone that plants the Indian corn is ready, that is, the corn is in roasting ears, in July or August. Women and men, just a few, get together and have a council and set the date to camp and the day to dance, and to talk about the vegetables as to who can bring different vegetables such as roasting ear corn, beans, cucumbers, etc. Anyone that wishes to donate these may do so. (Watermelons are acceptable also.)[8]

The ground is prepared the same as for the Bread Dance and collections are asked with which to buy beef. Four men and four women are selected to dance, and [from] any clan. Three or four dances are sung for each. At the pumpkin dance food is placed in the center on a tablecloth and then the dance is called to order and the prayer is said, thanking God for everything that has been raised to eat, that has been mentioned in the Bread Dance. Only meat and vegetables are used in this dance.

Now for the Fall Bread Dance. It should be held on the first day of October. To camp a week before to pick the dancers is necessary. It is the same as the Spring Bread Dance except the men take the lead when to council and

[8] Corn Dance: no one was allowed to use any corn even from his own field, until the proper authority was given. When the corn was sufficiently advanced for use the date of the feast and dance was fixed. This was probably the most highly esteemed peace festival of the Shawnees. Very properly it might be called the feast of the first fruits.—Kansas Historical Collections, *op cit.*

everything else. They tie the hoop first and the women follow. It is honorable to be ushers and to help the elders in many ways.

In the Fall they do not play football but they play the Indian Seed game. Women play against the men.

THE NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH IN OKLAHOMA

*By Carol K. Rachlin**

The Native American Church of North America is an American Indian Christian nativistic religion. The Church is Chartered in twelve states and in Canada, and is the largest intertribal organization of American Indians in existence. No exact figures for church membership can be obtained. Its national President, Mr. Frank Takes Gun, gives the practising membership as 225,000 Indians in 1962.[1]

Today in Oklahoma, where the church was first chartered on October 10, 1918, the membership is composed of persons belonging to most of the fifty-seven tribes in the state. A conservative estimate would be that this membership represents one-third of the Indian population of Oklahoma, or approximately 22,000 persons.[2] An amendment to the Incorporation papers of the Native American Indian Church in 1944 reads:[3]

> The purpose for which this corporation is formed is to foster and promote religious believers in Almighty God and the customs of several tribes of Indians throughout the United States in the worship of a Heavenly Father, and to promote morality, sobriety, industry, charity and right living and cultivate a spirit of brotherly love and union among the members of the several tribes of Indians throughout the United States, with the right to own and hold property for the purpose of conducting its business or service.

The modern philosophy of the Native American Church is best expressed in the words of James Auchiah, a Kiowa:[4]

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[1] *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate.* 87th Congress Second Session. Pursuant to S. Res. 260. Part 3, June 1, 2, and 6th, p. 527. (Washington D. C. 1963).

[2] Estimate based on U. S. Bureau of Census figures, 1960. By these figures there are 68,000 persons of Indian descent in Oklahoma.

[3] Amended Incorporation Papers of the Native American Church of Oklahoma, 1944. Article II.

[4] Words of James Auchiah, Kiowa. Representative of the Native American Church of Oklahoma at the Oklahoma Intertribal Indian Center's Interfaith Day, Oklahoma City Y.W.C.A., 15th March, 1964. Kiowa translated by Mrs. Berdina Kodaseet and the Rev. Spencer Ahpeahtone.

From the very beginning of time, the Indian has been a religious man. He sees beauty in all the world around him, and things are beautiful to him because they are works of God.

The Indian looks everywhere, and wherever he looks he sees God's hand. Oh, how beautiful are the skies! How majestic are the hills! How artistic are the valleys! And we look at them all, and know God made them all.

[In Kiowa] I am happy to be with you all today. I am happy that you are singing. When we sing together, God knows we are in harmony with each other and with Him. Now our old people are gone. We have no one to teach us the old ways, or to lead us along the old trails. That is why we must make a new trail, going forward together along life's road. The right way is the Christian way. Now I will speak in English:

We believe in many things. We believe in the goodness of God and the brotherhood of man, and the union of all Indians, with themselves and with their white brothers. We believe we pray better inside the tipi—both sides of the tipi—because that is the Indian's natural home.

We believe that in Indian ceremonies, we should eat only the old Indian foods: meat, corn, beans, and fruit. We should drink clean fresh water. We should eat the herb that God has given us.

All these men who have spoken today have told us how God loves us. That is the old Indian belief, too. That is the Indian way today. It's real. It's true. Aho!

This philosophy is implicit in all Native American Church ceremonies. The interpretation and the ritualistic elements of the service varies from tribe to tribe within a formalized pattern. The nativistic portions of the service are determined by the amount of aboriginal religion which a particular group possesses. The emphasis given to various parts of the service will depend on whether the tribe was traditionally a hunting or an agricultural people. The Christian elements in the ceremony are determined by the orthodox religious bodies who influenced a particular Indian group. All Indian groups believe in Jesus Christ the Son of God.

A Native American Church service is always preformed for a special reason: prayers for healing the sick, prayers for thanksgiving, prayers to protect the young people who are going into service, etc.

The ceremony is usually held in a tipi which serves as the church. Feathers, fire, smoke, the sound of the drum—all carry man's prayers to God. Man may sing his prayers, or speak them out loud, or word them privately to himself. Each man communes with God in his own words. There are a few standard prayer songs which are used in various sections of the service, in keeping with the formalized pattern of the ceremony.

The formalized pattern of the Native American Church service provides that a chief or priest conduct the ceremony or "meeting". The priest is assisted by his drummer and the Fire Chief or Road Man. The Road Man's duties are to keep the tipi clean, tend the fire, and generally aid the priest during the service.

The service begins about 8:00 p.m. and continues until 7:00 a.m. The ceremony is divided into four parts, with each part of the service having a special meaning:

1. *The Entrance Ceremony*: The priest, followed by his drummer, leads the congregation into the tipi. The priest tells the group the reason for holding this service. He then passes the holy peyote cactus for each person to eat. The peyote cactus is the sacrament, and can be equated with the bread and wine of the communion service of the Christian Church. A person who eats the sacrament has received God within himself, and thus he can commune with God.

It is from this peyote cactus sacrament that the religious belief of the Native American Church has received its colloquial name, "Peyote Religion." It is also because of the peyote cactus that the members of the Native American Church have been the recipient of abuse and attack from their own tribesmen as well as from the non-Indian community.

2. *The Midnight Water Ceremony*: At midnight the Fire Chief (Road Man) brings in a pail of water, from which each member of the congregation will drink. This ceremony symbolizes the fertilizing of all life. The holding of this ceremony at the begining of a new day represents the conception of life.

3. *The Morning Water Ceremony*: This ceremony is held about dawn and symbolizes birth. A woman brings life from her body into the world; thus she brings the new day to man. A mature woman carries in a pail of water from which the congregation drinks. All life needs water to flourish.

4. *The Ceremonial Breakfast*: Man receives his strength from food, which is God's blessing. The ceremonial breakfast, composed of Indian foods: corn, meat, fruit, and water, gives the worshipers God's blessings and sends them forth strengthened to meet the new day. This ceremony closes the Native American Church service.

The philosophy of the Native American Church is not understood by its critics, most of whom seize upon the eating of the peyote sacrament as their point of attack. These critics claim that the sacramental peyote is a narcotic,

and is habit-forming, dangerous, harmful and deleterious to the users.

The sacramental peyote is a little spineless catcus which grows in the southern Rio Grande valley. It is botanically known as *Lophophora Williamsii, Lemaire.* This cactus has been confused with many other plants. Explorers, missionaries, early travelers, and even scientists have identified it with everything from mescal beans to poisonous mushrooms.[5]

Four tops of the cactus *Lophophora Williamsii, Lemaire,* usually called "Peyote Buttons", are eaten during the religious service. Four is a sacred number of most American Indians, symbolizing the four directions: east, south, west, and north.

The effects of peyote upon an individual vary with his physical health and psychological attitude. An average person will develop acute sensitivity to color and sound. He may have some hallucinatory experiences. Hallucinations will exist within the environment, and will usually be visions seen in the flames of the holy fire which burns throughout the meeting. Visual hallucinations in a peyote meeting may be equated with seeing designs or figures in cloud formations.

The services of the Native American Church in Oklahoma are always quiet and dignified, with no outbreaks of uncontrolled emotion or obscene performances.

The general health of persons who eat peyote ceremonially once a week or less appears to be about the same as that of nonpeyote eating Indians. A review of four or five generations of Kiowa and Sauk peyote adherents does not indicate that any inheritable effects result from eating peyote.[6]

Members of the Native American Church in Oklahoma do not usually use peyote in contemporary curing ceremonies. A person with a bad cold may drink peyote tea, but for any more serious condition he will see a medical doctor. More often individuals go to peyote ceremonies to thank God for having been cured, or to ask God's help for recovery from sickness.

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[5]Richard Evans Schultes, *Peyote (Lophophora Williamsii) and Confused with It.* Botanical Museum Leaflets, (Harvard University. Cambridge, Mass. University Press, 19th Nov. 1937), Vol. 5. No. 5. pp. 61-88. See references in *Appendix A.*

[6]Alice Marriott to C. K. Rachlin. *Personal Communication.* Field Notes and Observations.

One Sauk priest expressed his attitude towards healing in this way, "That woman has cancer and the doctors can't cure her. We will hold four meetings (Native American Church services) for her. She will not get well, but her mind will feel better."[7]

The legal status of the use of peyote as a sacrament is as difficult to define as the sacramental use of wine was under national prohibition. Some states have outlawed the use of peyote under any circumstances, while others have refused to pass such laws. The Federal position is even more complex.

Peyote (*Lophophora Williamsii, Lemaire*) is not included in the current United States Narcotics Law. Recently (in 1964) a joint resolution was introduced in the 88th Congress, Second Session, to add peyote to the Federal Narcotics list. As of July, 1964, The Native American Church of North America is actively lobbying against this resolution.

Two Federal Laws specifically mention the word peyote, (*Lophophora Williamsii Lemaire*). The first is the Narcotics Addict Farm Act, passed in the 1930's. This law enables the courts to enforce cures, through hospitalization, on narcotics addicts. The United States Bureau of Public Health maintains two hospitals for this purpose.

A letter to Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier from United States Public Health Service states: "To the best of our knowledge, there has never been a patient admitted to either of the U. S. Public Health Service hospitals, at Lexington, Kentucky, or at Ft. Worth, Texas, for treatment for addiction to peyote."[8]

The second Federal law to refer specifically to peyote is the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. A note on the subject of peyote written in 1955, states:[9]

> A letter from Mr. M. R. Stephens, Associate Commissioner of Food and Drugs, to Mr. James S. Slotkin, University of Chicago, dated 18th January, 1955. Mr. Stephens states that at the request of the Indian Bureau, the Department of Agriculture attempted to prevent the introduction of peyote for a while.
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> About fifteen years ago, however, at the request of the Indian Bureau, we discontinued taking actions against importations of this

[7] Personal correspondence between Isador Neal, Sauk, Cushing, Okla. and C. K. Rachlin, Winter, 1958.

[8] J. S. Slotkin, *The Peyote Religion* (Glencoe, Ill. The Free Press, 1956), p. 124. Letter to Dr. John Collier from U. S. Public Health Service.

[9] Hearing of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on Judiciary, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

substance (peyote). This was partly due to the fact that we had never encountered peyote in any product intended for medicinal use, and according to all available information its use has been confined to Indians and it was claimed that the article is used by them principally in religious or ceremonial rites.

The Peyote religion was first reported in western Oklahoma by Dr. James Mooney, as a result of his study of Kiowa history, in 1891.[10] Mr. Mooney found the religion fully developed at that time.

In 1891 Baptist and Methodist missionaries were already well established in the jurisdiction of the Kiowa, Comanche, Wichita and Caddo Agency in western Oklahoma, and the Indians were acquainted with several forms of Christianity. The acceptance of the Peyote Religion by a suppressed people was a natural process when one considers both its nativistic and Christian elements.

All the Christian groups and the employees of the Bureau of Indian Affairs were anxious to suppress the Peyote Religion because they believed that the eating of peyote caused moral breakdown and corruption among the Indian people. They were joined in their fight against the Peyote Religion by Indian believers in the older native religions and by Christian converts, who kept the officials informed of the times and places of the peyote meetings.

The action of the missionaires and the employees of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and of the Indians should be viewed in terms of conditions on the Plains and the country at large at that time. This was the period of Indian history in which occurred the Ghost Dance uprising among the Plains Indians, the Crazy Snake rebellion in the Creek Nation, and the introduction of the "Forty-nine" protest dances in the northern Plains.

It was also a period of general unrest throughout the United States. The depression of the 1890's began in the banking centers of the east and spread westward. Crop failures and grasshopper plagues impoverished the agricultural Plains states. A demand for free land was raised by the unemployed and displaced elements of the population.

The center of the Indian Territory, later (1890) "Oklahoma Territory," was first opened to white settlement in 1889. In 1907, Oklahoma Territory was symbolically married to Indian Territory, and the State of Oklahoma was admitted to the Union.[11] Change was everywhere, and the unrest of the nation at large was felt by the Indian

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[10]James Mooney, *The Kiowa Calenders*: 17th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1892-93) (Washington, D. C. 1896)

[11]Edwin C. McReynolds, Alice Marriott, Estelle Faulconer, *Oklahoma the Story of Its Past and Present.* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma. 1961.)

peoples. The tribes expressed their unhappiness in a desperate search for spiritual reassurance—something to lead them from the frantic confusion and bewilderment they felt into the sanity of a knowledge of spiritual life.

The Oklahoma land openings brought in fresh floods of missionaries, who taught their different brands of Christianity to the Indians. Some Indians found the European-based teachings of Christianity compatable to their own ways of thinking and living. Other Indians, however, had deeply rooted beliefs in their old religions, and some Indians found logic in both. These turned to a blend of the two—the Peyote Religion.

The Session Laws of 1899, passed at the 5th regular session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Oklahoma, April 10th, 1897, outlawed the mescal bean in Article II: Medicine Men and Mescal Beans.

At that time there was great confusion between the cactus *Lophophora Williamsii, Lemaire* (peyote) and the red mescal bean, *Sophora Secundiflora* (*orteg.*) *Lag. ex. D C 13,* in the minds of employees of the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, the missionaries, and the lay population.[12]

Sophora Secundiflora (*orteg.*) *Lag. ex. DC 13,* the mescal bean, grows on a bush which is about three feet high. The bean is poisonous, and is never eaten. Indian men, particularly in western Oklahoma, wear necklaces of these red beans as part of their ceremonial dress. This is because where *Sophora Secundiflora* (*orteg.*) ex. DC. is found, the cactus *Lophophora Williamsii, Lemaire* is also found. The Indians say that the mescal bean leads them to the peyote, and they honor the bean by wearing it.

The confusion of the two plants led to the repeal of the Session Law by omission from the General Statutes of Oklahoma, in 1908. Ever since then there have been attempts to stop the use of a peyote sacrament in Oklahoma, but all of them have failed.[13]

With the omission of "Article II: Medicine Men and Mescal Beans" of the Session Laws for 1899 in the General Statutes of Oklahoma, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had no legal means, after 1908, of supressing the Peyote Religion.

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[12]Richard Evans Schultes, *op. cit.*

[13] Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Okla. Indian Archives. *Cheyenne-Arapaho Peyote File.*

J. S. Slotkin, *op. cit.* p. 56 and Table 4.

The first decades of the Twentieth Century were not only periods of growth and expansion, they were periods of organized public virture. They were the years of the Anti-Saloon League, of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the Temperance Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[14] These organizations, joined with other similar groups, brought about the passing of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

In Oklahoma, these national movements received strong support from the white Christian population. The local representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs pressed their fight against the Peyote Religion under the guise of the peyote's being intoxicant. There were no national laws or state laws which specifically gave the Bureau of Indian Affairs legal authority to prosecute the Peyote Religion. The administrators of the Bureau of Indians Affairs, both in Washington and in Oklahoma, interpreted the laws to fit their own moral standards. They found their justification in the Act of 1897, prohibiting the sale of intoxicating drinks to Indians.

The interpretation of this law by the Bureau of Indian Affairs is clearly illustrated in the following letter, written by its Chief Special Officer, William E. Johnson. The confusion by Government officials between the peyote cactus, *Lophophora Williamsii, Lemaire,* and the red mescal bean, *Sophora Secundiflora (orteg. Lag. ex. DC. 13)*, can also be clearly noted:[15]

Department of the Interior. United States Indian Service.
Salt Lake City, Utah. En route Banning, California. August 3, 1909.
From: William E. Johnson

To: Mr. Frank Thackery, Superintendent, Indian Agency, Shawnee, Oklahoma.

My Dear Sir: —

I have to ackowledge receipt of your letter of July 27, 1909, enclosing a written statement made to you by Henry Murdock, George Kishketon, Pah-Pe-Ah-Thick, Uh-Pe-The-Nime and Roy Kickapoo. You enclosed a sample of the plant which has been used by your Indians.

The sample of the plant which you enclosed is the Peyote, the use of which the Government is trying to break up among the Indians. The Mescal Bean is a term frequently applied to this same article. The word "Mescal", however, is a Spanish term which

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[14]Richard Hofstader; William Miller; Danel Arron *The American Republic* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959), Vol. 2, pp. 374-75.

[15] Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Okla. Indian Archives. *Sac-Fox Vice File.* —Quoted in *Appendix B.*

corresponds very nearly to our English word "dope", and is applied rather indiscriminately to any article which will make a man drunk or "loco". The Peyote was commonly known as the Mescal Bean among the Oklahoma Indians until a few years ago when I attempted some prosecutions in the Oklahoma Territorial Courts against introducing this upon an Indian allotment. Under the advice of a smart lawyer named Cunningham the Oklahoma Indians suddenly forgot all about the Mescal Bean and insisted that they were using the Peyote plant. They dug up then a red bean of which little is known and which they claimed to be the Mescal Bean. This was purely subterfuge invented by a smart lawyer to evade the enforcement of the law, and it is unworthy of the Oklahoma Indians to attempt such a subterfuge as this.

I will file away the statement of these Indians for reference in this matter. The leader of the Mescal Sect among the Sac and Fox Indians, Harry Davenport, recently committed suicide while crazed with this narcotic drug. The furnishing of the Peyote plant to an Indian is a violation of the Act of 1897 which forbids the furnishing to an Indian of any article whatsoever which produces intoxication. The Peyote is such an article.

Yours, very truly,
(Signed) William E. Johnson,
Special Officer.

The pressure on the adherents of the Peyote Religion grew stronger as the drive for prohibition grew in popularity among the white population:[16]

The most determined effort of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to have an anti-peyote law passed took place in 1918, when H. R. 2614 was submitted to the 65th Congress, Second Session. The House Committee on Indian Affairs held hearings on the bill in February and March of that year. As a result, intertribal conferences were held in Oklahoma during the summer, at which the delegates discussed incorporating a Pan-Indian Peyotist Association as a defense measure. They knew about Koshiway's (Oto Indian) earlier use of this device (a charter), and if they hadn't known of the Indian Shaker Church incorporation before, some of them were informed by Mooney. (Dr. James Mooney of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.). There is reason to believe that it was on Mooney's initiative that the "Native American Church" was incorporated in Oklahoma on October 10, 1918.

Fifty-six years have passed since the Charter of the Native American Church of Oklahoma was granted. Two generations have grown up, to carry on the ideals of the Church and to make it a united intertribal socio-religious organization.

The philosophy of the Native American Church has been reinterpreted, as happens in all religions, so the belief will continue to be acceptable to each new generation. The Native American Church, while still continuing many native traditions, has moved into the Christian world of the late Twentieth Century.

[16] J. S. Slotkin, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

The Native American Church is still being condemned by many orthodox Christian faiths, and by many Indian people who do not understand the beliefs of the Church or the meaning of the peyote sacrament. Both groups tend to emphasize the elements which they consider to be spectacular or bizarre, forgetting the high moral teachings and spiritual guidance in daily living which the Church preaches.

The adherents of the Native American Church are legally practising their religious belief. They are Christian citizens of the United States and of the State of Oklahoma, and by virtue of the religious freedom embodied in the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution are free to carry on with their own interpretation of Christianity, in the worship of God and the Son of God, Jesus Christ.

APPENDIX A

Johnathan Koshiway, Oto, received a charter for the First-born Church of Christ. Present at the meeting held in Cheyenne, Oklahoma, were members of the Southern Cheyenne, Oto, Ponca, Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa Apache tribes.

LaBarre, Weston, *The Peyote Cult.* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 19. New Haven, Conn. Yale University Press, 1938)

F. E. Kelsey, Ph. D. *The Pharmacology of Peyote* (Dept. of Physiology and Pharmacology, State University of South Dakota, Vermillion, S. D. 1962)

"Peyote (*Lophophora Williamsii*) contains as the principal active ingredient the alkaloid mescaline. Other active chemicals have been isolated in pure form from peyote. These include lophophorine, which produce strychnine like convulsions in rabbits in doses of 12 miligrams per kilogram; pellotine, a centrally acting sedative, and anahalonindine, a central stimulant. Mescaline, however, remains the drug found in largest amounts and is completely responsible for the extraordinary visions of the peyotist. Since the concentration of mescaline in dried cactus is about 0.9 percent, 1 ounce of the crude drug would contain 270 milligrams of mescaline, an amount adequate for profound effects in most individuals.

"In summary, the most important effects of peyote, or mescaline, on the human subject are on the integrative or interpolative functions of the central nervous system and manifest themselves as bizarre symptoms and signs. Peripheral effects are usually minor; other than the after depression which is always to be expected with such a powerful drug, there is no evidence of drug tolerance or withdrawal symptoms characteristic of the true narcotics. Overall, the drug appears to be very similar to marihuana in physiologic as well as in the psychologic sense."

Louis S. Goodman and Alfred Gilman. *The Pharmacological Basis of Therepeutics.* (New York, Macmillan, 1956.)

"*Lophophora Williamsii, Lemaire* (peyote) is not a narcotic because there is "no valid evidence that abstinence symptoms occur when the drug is not available."

D. W. Maureau and V. H. Vogel. *Narcotics and Addiction.* (Springfield, Ill. Chas. C. Thomas. 1954).

"There is no authentic record to show that the habitual or addictive use of peyote occurs either by Indians or others who use it periodically or experimentally."

APPENDIX B

Sac-Fox Vice File. Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

PUBLIC LAW NO. 33

An Act to prohibit the sale of intoxicating drinks to Indians, providing penalties therefor and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that any person who shall sell, give away, dispose of, exchange, or barter any malt, spirituous, or vinous liquor of any kind whatsoever, or any essence, extract, bitter, preparation, compound, or any article whatsoever, under any name, label, or brand, which produces intoxication, to any Indian to whom allotment of land has been made while the title to the same shall be held in trust by Government or to any Indian a ward of the Government including mixed bloods, over whom the Government, through its departments, exercises guardianship, any person who shall introduce or attempt to introduce any malt spirituous, or vinous liquor of any kind whatsoever into the Indian country, which term shall include any Indian allotment while the title to the same shall be held in trust by the Government, or while the same shall remain inalienable by the allottee without the consent of the United States, shall be punished by imprisonment for not less than sixty days and by a fine of not less than $100.00 for the first offense, and not less than 200.00 for each offense thereafter. Approved January 30, 1897.

OLD CENTRAL OF OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY

By Dr. B. B. Chapman

Oklahoma State University is celebrating 72 years of education by erecting a ten-story dormitory and other buildings for the accommodation of 12,000 students. It is fitting on this occasion that Old Central should have repairs, including a new roof, and be recognized as the building best representing the total history of the institution.

Old Central was dedicated on June 15,1894, and was called the College Building.[1] It was the pride of the people of the prairie. At night the light in its tower could be seen for miles, and welcomed travelers of horse and buggy days to their homes in Stillwater. For three years prior to the erection of the building, Oklahoma A. and M. College had only rented quarters in town, and rude structures on its 200 acres. Students eagerly looked forward to having a permanent building.

In order to have the college located in Stillwater, the city government was required to donate the land and to raise $10,000 in cash.[2] The money was raised on the frontier in the hard times of the early nineties, and with it and a contribution from the Territorial Legislature the building was erected. From his homestead Frank E. Duck, age 24, donated the 40 acres on which the College Building was erected. He graduated in it with the first class in 1896, and later donated his diploma to the college. Old Central is the only landmark known to all the thousands of students who have graduated at the institution. The erection of Old Central made Stillwater secure as a seat of learning. No longer was there serious likelihood that the town, though

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[1] Many articles concerning the history of Old Central are in *Selections From the Record Book*, manuscript volumes in the Oklahoma Historical Society, and in the Rare Book Division of the Library of Oklahoma State University.

The *Record Book* consists of three volumes, prepared in 1941 on the fiftieth anniversary of the college, for the centennial celebration in 1991. It was a cooperative work supervised by a committee, and sponsored largely by my Oklahoma History students. These three volumes are sealed in the wall by the front doors of the library, and a mural inscription states that they are included in an historical packet to be opened in 1991. *Selections From the Record Book* consists of a set of two volumes, and are for use in the interim. See Hays Cross, "Historical Packet Contents," *Oklahoma A. and M College Magazine*, Jan., 1942, p. 6; B. B. Chapman, "Makers of History Write It," *ibid.*, p. 5; "Plan Book Links Present and Future," *ibid.*, May, 1942, p. 9; "Three-Volume Record Book Sealed," *ibid.*, Dec., 1942, p. 7; microfilm in State Library, M 378.766—C 4650.

[2] B. B. Chapman, *The Founding of Stillwater*, pp. 141-151.

Old Central of Oklahoma State University

twenty-five miles from a railroad, would lose the college. The importance of this security is evidenced by the fact that on September 16, 1893, the Cherokee Outlet was opened to settlement, and Stillwater lost half of its population, and the most advanced class in the college lost half of its students. The following article in the *Stillwater Gazette* on August 25, 1893, foretold the appearance of Old Central.

Through the courtesy of Contractor Ryan we have been shown the plans and specifications of the college building now in process of construction. A short description of the building as contracted for may prove of interest to our readers:

The building will be a handsome structure of brick and stone. The magnificent red sandstone of this neighborhood is used in the body of the basement which is eight feet above the ground, sinking in four feet below the surface. This foundation wall is built as substantially as possible to make stone and mortar work, being 2 feet thick. It runs 1 foot below the basement floor, thus affording a perfectly solid bed to support the heavy building.

The walls above the basement are of brick the main part of which is burned by Mr. Braden. The windows and doors are all faced and capped with native red sandstone. The gables are of redwood shingles and the roof of tin slates. The structure stands facing the south and is 67 feet square. Two towers ornament the roof, one for attic ventilation and the other for a large bell. There are two basement doors on the east and two first-floor doors, one on the South and one on the West.

The principal rooms in the basement will be used for the chemical laboratory, chemical recitation room, gas machine and various storerooms. The first floor will be occupied by two recitation rooms, reception room, office and library. On the second floor will be found two more recitation rooms, two apparatus rooms, assembly room and storeroom. The assembly room will be 40 x 45 feet in size. Nearly fifty men are employed in its construction.

Many other interesting features might be noted in connection with this building, but the above is sufficient to show that the people of the territory have got a bargain in this contract. $14,948 is a small price, and bend low, dear reader, let us whisper it to you, the "robber regents" made the contract.

Programs saved by Thomas J. Hartman, Willa Adams Dusch, and other early students of the college, illustrate the cultural activity conducted in Old Central. In 1894 the dedication procedure was announced as follows:

Program

Friday, June 15th, at 8:30 p. m. Dedication of College Building, Addresses by Judge E. B. Green, Guthrie, Okla., and Hon. W. H. Johnson, Perry, Okla.

Reception by the faculty

Saturday, June 16th, at 8:30 p. m. Annual Address, Hon. Theo. G. Risley, Guthrie, Okla.

Sunday, June 17th, at 11 a. m. Annual Sermon, Rev. J. C. Calman, D. D., Kingfisher, Okla.

A printed notation on the back of the program reads: "You are invited to attend the Third Annual Closing Exercises of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Oklahoma Territory, June 15-17th, inclusive, 1894."

According to Freeman E. Miller who was a member of the faculty, plans of the program went somewhat awry. The dedication address was given by Rev. Richard B. Foster, Pastor of the Congregational Church in Stillwater, whose environment at his introduction was described by Miller:[3]

> Turn back if you will the Book of Time to 8 p. m., June 15, 1894, and in your vision behold with me the scene there present. Upon the rostrum in the Assembly Hall are Governor William C. Renfrow and all the Regents, behind them the faculty no more numerous than the members of the board itself. Presiding is Hon. John R. Clark. . . . The orchestra is down in front with its feasts of music for the soul's delight. Seated near the front are all the students of the college—almost one hundred strong, the prospective senior class of six or seven occupying the seats of honor, and the other classes behind them in gradually diminishing glory. Every seat is occupied; every aisle is crowded full with the beauty and chivalry of town and territory.

Miller recorded that Risley, Guthrie attorney, was unable to come to Stillwater on Saturday, June 16, because of a heavy rain. He gave the address on Sunday afternoon.

In the history of Oklahoma A. and M. College, the first medals awarded to students for excellence in literary work were offered by Professor Alexander Covington Magruder in 1893, 1894, and 1895. The medals are now the property of the Library of Oklahoma State University, having been donated to it by the owners in later years.[4] The contests in 1894 and 1895 were held in Old Central.

Physical expansion of the college was a necessity. In December, 1894, President Henry E. Alvord said:[5]

> As was expected, the chemical laboratory in the basement of the college building is giving trouble. The odors, fumes and gases cannot be fully controlled, and reach every part of the building at times. Occasionally classes in upper rooms have to be dismissed. This trouble will increase as the hours of laboratory practice are increased. Experience has demonstrated that chemical laboratories should be in buildings to themselves, or, at all events, with no other work in rooms above.

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[3] Foster's address is in *Stillwater Daily Press*, Dec., 21, 1929. With it is an excellent history of the occasion, given by Freeman E. Miller at the Founders Day banquet, December 14, 1929.

[4] In regard to the Magruder medals, see B. B. Chapman, "Medal Collection Complete," *Oklahoma A. and M. College Magazine*, Nov., 1943, p. 7; Horace J. Harper, "Magruder Field," *ibid.*, May, 1942, p. 6; see also the *Daily O'Collegian*, March 18, April 10, May 19, 1942, and May 25, 1961; *Stillwater Daily News-Press*, Dec. 7, 1952.

[5] *Okla. Ter. Council Journal, 1895*, p. 81.

In 1895 the college catalog said of Old Central: "It is a handsome structure of pressed brick and stone, sixty-seven by sixty-seven feet in size, consisting of two stories and a basement, and containing sixteen rooms. It is heated throughout by steam, and, with furnishings complete, cost nearly $25,000." President Alvord added the following statement: "The seats, desks, cabinets, cases, and fixtures which have been procured are plain but well finished, suited to the building and their respective uses, and durable of their kind. No public institution in the Territory is now more thoroughly or better furnished."

In the *Oklahoma Statutes, 1961,* is the statement, "College cannot be sued." This law emanates from a case filed in the Supreme Court of Oklahoma Territory on February 18, 1898, concerning Old Central.[6] Charles F. Willis and William R. Bradford had furnished certain materials and performed labor in repairing and fitting up some of the rooms in the building. In a case tried in the District Court of Payne County they had been awarded the sum of $610.31, and execution should issue in thirty days. This may well be called the first crisis for Old Central. The Supreme Court silenced the voice of the auctioneer, and relieved the college administration from its embarrassment.

On November 5, 1913, the *Orange and Black* noted that the Board of Regents were on the campus to attend to certain matters, including the inspection of buildings. Three weeks later the newspaper carried the following letter:

> Probably very few students in A. and M. know that in the belfry of Central Building there is a large bell. It has been there since Central Building was built, but, notwithstanding this fact, it is still in remarkably good condition. The wooden supports that once held it upright are now broken; the bell itself, however, is still in good condition, having suffered very little from rust.
>
> Until about six years ago this bell was used to call students to classes, Rooters' Club meetings, mass meetings, and, in short, every gathering of the student body. But when the College began to use milder means of telling students that it was time to get up, the old bell was allowed to stand idle. It has been standing idle ever since.
>
> If this bell were in working condition it could be used to call the students out to meetings of the Rooters Club or any other student gathering of general interest. This method of getting the students to "turn out" would be much more effective than the method of posting a notice some place and taking it for granted that all the students will see it; and, further, they will remember. This bell is 3 feet in diameter, and when rung it can be heard all over Stillwater, consequently its use would cause a larger attendance at all meetings of the students.

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[6] Oklahoma A. and M. College *v.* Willis and Bradford, 6 Okla. 593.

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES

OF THE

OKLAHOMA

Agricultural and Mechanical College

AT THE

Assembly Hall, Wednesday, June 10, 1896, at 10 a. m.

Music.

Prayer.

Address, - - Governor W. C. RENFROW, Guthrie.

Address, - - - - Hon. HORACE SPEED, Guthrie.

ORATIONS BY GRADUATING CLASS.

ARTHUR WESLEY ADAMS, - "The Esthetics of Emotion."

JAMES HOMER ADAMS, - - "The Study of Nature."

FRANK ELSWORTH DUCK, - - "Sir Humphrey Davy."

ALFRED EDWIN JARRELL, - - "Abraham Lincoln."

ERVIN GIBSON LEWIS, - - "Man, the Master."

OSCAR MATISON MORRIS, - "Pictures in the Fire."

Conferring Degrees.

Benediction.

Program of Commencement Exercises for the Class of 1896, composed of six men, the first graduates of Oklahoma A. & M. College, at Stillwater, Oklahoma Territory

In the "College Forum" of the *Orange and Black,* on October 4, 1915, there appeared the following article entitled, "Why Destroy Central Building?"

> The writer has heard numerous remarks made during the past few years relative to what seems a determination to sometime in the future raze old Central Building, and in its place erect a more modern building. Some say the beauty of the proposed rectangle of buildings will be marred if it is left on its present site.
>
> Why destroy Central Building? If its walls are in a dangerous condition, the writer has nothing more to say. Human lives are worth more than sentiment for a building. But to one not a building expert it does look as if the expenditure of a few hundred dollars would put those massive stone and brick walls in perfectly safe condition. Since the anchoring rods were put in, a little over a year ago, the cracked walls have ceased to spread, and they appear to have conquered that trouble. So, if the condition of safety can be eliminated, the writer sees no reason for the destruction of the property.
>
> It is the oldest College building on the campus, and I believe in Oklahoma. The rectangle can be completed on all sides with it left standing, and it will then be truly "Central Building." The contrast will be unique. If its interior construction finally unfits it for class use, why not establish and maintain a museum in it? There are already many articles scattered about among the different buildings which are perhaps not of great value longer for departmental use, but could be stored in a museum and made of permanent and historic value to the whole institution. The librarian could have general charge of the museum, so expenses of maintenance would be small. A historical museum stored in a historical building would be a grand thing for the College and Oklahoma.

Administrative neglect brought matters to a crisis on February 7, 1927. The following day *The O'Collegian* said: "Loose plaster falling from the ceiling of an upstairs room, *The O'Collegian* office, in Old Central, yesterday afternoon about 1:50 o'clock struck Raymond Bivert, Luther, graduate student and general manager of student publications, from which he was incapacitated for the remainder of the day. The heavy cement mixture hit Bivert directly on top of the head." He was in the northwest corner of the building when the plaster fell. Professor Clement E. Trout, Publications Department Head, Paul Miller, Acting Managing Editor of the newspaper, and Madge Hock, Society Editor, saw the accident.

The O'Collegian recalled an event that happened in 1926 when John A. Whitehurst was president of the State Board of Agriculture, which had supervision of the college. In a meeting President Bradford Knapp told of the condition of Old Central and was met with the thoughtless answer of a board member, which was something like this: "Well, what if it does fall? It will just kill some student." To which Whitehurst as chairman, replied: "Yes, it will fall on a

student's head, literally, but every stone of it will be falling on the heads of members of this board."

On February 9, 1927, *The O'Collegian* said: "That all persons and offices be removed immediately from Old Central was the order made yesterday afternoon by President Knapp." The next day *The O'Collegian* took note of the "extremely precarious" condition of Old Central, and carried the following editorial:

To that venerable seer of the Aggie campus; to that monument of the early days when long hair and highwater trousers were prevalent; to that staunch, ever-vigilant watcher of the campus, which must go the way of all ancient things, we humbly bow.

Altho we have not been [in classes] within its walls for years; altho we have not seen it as the decayed bits of wood, the worn corners of stone, and the rapidly diminishing strength have become evident, still we feel a pride in the venerable overseer which is near to prideful arrogance.

Within this haughty creature, when it was first built, with the glistening white spire protruding into the heavens; with the shining brick walls standing as a monument to advancement in education, and a dominant outlook over the entire town of Stillwater and vicinity, the nucleus of the present Oklahoma A. and M. College was secreted.

Here this sperm progressed, swelled, grew, overran, and strengthened until a new building was necessary. And now look at the buildings which are here and think of those which are needed.

But the pride which we have in the ancient, crumbling, deteriorating walls of the first building on the campus is urging a deep expression of love for the service it has rendered.

We leave, with regretfulness on our part; with appreciation for its part; —Old Central. May it forever stand as a marker, for ages to come, of those generations before.

The following article appeared in the *Daily Oklahoman* on February 20:

Time and the elements have done for Old Central, one of the oldest college building in Oklahoma, what man could hardly do; they have positively decreed that it must go.

Old Central . . . has become so entwined in the sentiment of alumni and students of the institution that any talk in the past of razing the structure always elicited a protest. Although it formally was condemned by state inspectors in 1914 or 1916, it still retained a place in the activities of the college which newer and more modern buildings could not entirely usurp . . . .

From the beginning, the building received the reverence of students and alumni. The railroad was far from Stillwater when the college was opened, and much of the material which went into Central was of local origin. Sandstone formed the foundation and was used about the arches over doors and windows; red, pressed brick was the other structural material used in its walls. Deep cut initials in the sandstone suggests days of courtship which accompanied days of study.

After being condemned in 1914 or 1916—records are not clear as to the date—Central continued to serve as classrooms. It was used until 1921 in that capacity. In the meantime, however, it had been devoted to student activities. Student publications had their offices in the building and the student senate had its meeting place here. The bell tolled Aggie athletic victories.

With these associations, the building imbedded itself in the sentiment of new students. All were agreed that the structure was defective, but most of them were reluctant to think of having it razed. Last fall, however, President Knapp proposed a plan to replace it with a campanile as a memorial to students of the college who served in the World War. His project was approved by the state board of agriculture, along with other plans for a campus improvement program to be financed by general subscription.

Dislodgement of a piece of plaster recently, when a student was slightly injured, called attention to the imminent danger in the old building. Changes in the weather have caused the arches over the doors and windows to weaken and great cracks have formed in the walls. Because some of the stones were hanging loose over a sidewalk, President Knapp had the south end of the building fenced to prevent students from coming too near. The doors will be locked shortly, when all offices have been vacated, to prevent entrance to the building.

While the building is not likely to fall soon, plans to remove it shortly are afoot. Allowance for its removal has not been made in appropriations, however, so that other measures will have to be taken to finance the move, the general improvement program having been temporarily halted.

The writer here first saw Old Central in 1927, then in its second crisis. It stood condemned by the administration, and debris cluttered the entrance to its poorly barred doors. The next year Dr. Henry Garland Bennett became president, and opened the golden era of the college, an administration that was to last a quarter of a century.[7]

Promptly he proceeded to restore Old Central. The alumni rallied to the cause, joined in the programs on Founders Day, and the entire institution expanded in a cooperative effort. "Bennett, the Builder," wisely began with Old Central. He knew that sentiment throughout Oklahoma somehow influenced appropriations in the legislature, and otherwise caused the college to grow.

The only annual meeting the Oklahoma Historical Society ever held in Stillwater was on May 26, 1949, on the

[7] Randle Perdue, "That Man Bennett," *Okla. A. and M. College Magazine*, Sept., 1929, p. 8; Helen Johnson, "Old Central Has New Lease on Life," *ibid.*, p. 9; B. B. Chapman, "Dr. Henry G. Bennett as I Knew Him," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1955), pp. 159-168; "The Oklahoma Aggie School Had a Precarious Beginning," *Tulsa Daily World*, Dec. 9, 1928; "Old Central Beckons A. and M. Graduates," *ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1929; "A. and M. College Shows Remarkable Growth in 40 Years," *Tulsa Tribune*, Jan. 19, 1930; *Daily O'Collegian*, Dec. 14-15, 1928; Dec. 14-15, 1929.

invitation of Dr. Bennett. The meeting was in Old Central, and a large photograph of the group with the building in the background is conspicuously displayed at the headquarters of the society.

In the last year of the Bennett administration the college published *The Sigma Literary Society, 1893-1897*, by Willa Adams Dusch. It is rich in the history of Old Central. In this building in the last year of his administration, Dr. Bennett attended the first public examination in the history of the college, for the Master's degree. Examined in the crowded auditorium was my last graduate student, Amos D. Maxwell, whose thesis on *The Sequoyah Constitutional Convention* is the standard publication on the subject.[8]

It was fitting that Dr. Bennett should come to the college in such a time of need. The devotion of students to Old Central and its traditions continued to the close of his administration. I recall how loyal Aggies at night protected the building from pranksters, just prior to annual football games with the University of Oklahoma. I recall the day when students gathered about Old Central, and Dr. Bennett spoke on the occasion when chimes were placed in the tower in commemoration of Aggies who served their country in wartime. Installed was a modern fire protection sprinkler system.

Dr. Harry Edgar Thompson will be remembered as a devoted friend of Oklahoma A. and M. College, and the last survivor of the first faculty.[9] He was elected in the early part of 1893 and served nearly a decade. In Stillwater he roomed with President Robert J. Barker, and assisted him in getting out the first catalog, something "grand, glowing, and peculiar." Thompson suggested the colors of Princeton University, orange and black, for the new college. Later he was assistant state auditor, and assistant bank commissioner. His annual visits to alumni reunions at commencement were highly popular and well publicized.

Dr. Thompson wrote of the restoration of Old Central:

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[8] Prior to its appearance in volume form, the thesis in its entirety appeared in the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII (1950). See also the *Miss. Valley Historical Review*, vol. 41 (Sept., 1954), pp. 349-350.

[9] H. E. Thompson, "The Territorial Presidents of Oklahoma A. and M. College," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4 (Winter, 1954-55), pp. 364-368; B. B. Chapman, "First Faculty Sets Standards," *Okla. A. and M. College Magazine*, Dec., 1943, pp. 3-4; B. B. Chapman, "I Remember the University When . . .," *Okla. State Alumnus, March*, 1961, pp. 12-13; *Stillwater Daily News-Press*, May 24, 1959; *Tulsa Sunday World*, Dec. 9, 1962; Dec. 1, 1963. Thompson died on August 4, 1964.

It was a great pleasure to know Dr. Bennett. I first met him in 1929 when he was a guest at a banquet given by Ed Morrison at a graduating event at Wetumka. He announced then that Old Central had been condemned and was to be torn down. I said, "Doctor, don't let them do it. Old Central is a sacred event of the Early Days. Make it a shrine and make December 14—Founders Day—so that history will record the 'Beginning of A. and M. College.'" He gave me a most cordial and urgent invitation to be a guest of the College on the First Founders Day meeting.

The first article in the *Oklahoma A. and M. Magazine*, February, 1955, contains three pages. It says: "We invite your inspection at any time to our older buildings. We believe you should know that several will not last many years longer. Examples of such structures include: Old Central, constructed in 1893. It has a sandstone foundation and wooden floors, stairwell, and framework interior." Other early buildings, including Williams Hall, are listed. The article closes thus: "Our success in carrying out plans for future needs of A & M College will be reflected in no small measure by the degree of support and cooperation you give to these worthwhile goals." With a picture of the "Oldest Campus Area" is a cutline stating that Old Central was "long past 'retirement age' and must be replaced in the very near future."

In the next issue of the magazine is a boxed explanation of three paragraphs entitled, "Live on, Old Central!" In it Welden Barnes, College Director of Public Information, stated that "the oldest of the college buildings will be where it stands for many years to come." He said "the college received several letters" following the previous article, and that from it, "some of our former students got a mistaken impression."

Although the article was regarded by many members of the Half-Century Club as reflecting the third crisis of Old Central, it served a useful purpose in evoking from old grads and their contemporaries, expressions of academic devotion that could hardly be obtained by any other means. By their letters and activity they enriched the early history of the college in general, and of Old Central in particular. Some comments may be noted.

Thomas J. Hartman (class of 1898) and Mary Jarrell (class of 1903) were the first alumni of the college to become husband and wife.[10] Hartman was the first Aggie

[10] For a biographical sketch of Mr. and Mrs. T. J. Hartman, see B. B. Chapman, "Through Golden Years," *Okla. A. and M. College Magazine*, Dec., 1953, pp. 11-12. See also, "Invitation Letters," *ibid.*, April, 1938, pp. 4-6; "Literary Records Preserved in Library," *ibid.*, April, 1945, p. 4; "Old Central, Saved by Alumni Again," *Oklahoma City Times*, Oct. 27, 1955.

graduate to serve on the Board of Regents of the college. He was toastmaster at the first Founders Day banquet, December 14, 1928. Mrs. Hartman's father had given forty acres of his homestead to help meet legal requirements for locating the college at Stillwater. She said: [10a]

To me, Old Central represents the struggles and hardships to get an education in those pioneer days. The students were as raw and undeveloped as the country. Even the teachers were fresh out of Eastern colleges and trying to carve out fame and fortune for themselves as best they could. This shiny new building was the soil of the institution. It represents the best in building construction at that time. We all tried to live up to it.

Hartman said:

If I have learned anything during the Eighty Years thus far allotted to me, it has been how easy it is to destroy something. Any unlettered person with a little match can raze Old Central in an hour. Three unlettered men, paid the common labor schedule of today, could raze her in a month, but it took the heart and ability of a Dr. Bennett to restore her usefulness.

For years the ground on which Old Central stands has been coveted by every politician who figured that he might have his name chiseled on the cornerstone of a new building to occupy that site. The politicians will no doubt win their desire to wreck Williams Hall, the Old Library, but Old Central—never. He should make it so hot for them that Thatcher Hall and Hanner Hall shall forever bear those names; and for Old Central, if she must be abandoned could be surrounded by a chain fence and serve for *all* time as a monument to those early pioneers who believed in education.

Frank D. Northup was a charter member of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and editor of the *Stillwater Gazette*. He said: "In May, 1893, I came to Stillwater, riding a horse across the campus on the road to a dusty little wooden town of 1,000." In 1899 he was appointed superintendent of printing at the college. His duties included the teaching of printing, editing the annual catalog, bulletins, and the *College Paper*. Later he edited *The Enid Events*. For many years he and John Fields owned and edited the *Oklahoma Farm Journal*. In 1955 he said:

As one of a growing group of Oklahoma citizens who are seeking to preserve state historical landmarks, I sincerely hope Old Central—

[10a] The best collection of programs in early college days was preserved by the Hartmans, and presented to the library in 1953. The importance of the collection is evident from the fact that prior to the Bennett administration, the college took little care to preserve its own history. For instance, in 1901 the *Minutes of the First Faculty, 1892-1899*, was ordered to be burned as useless paper, but was saved by a student, Samuel A. McReynolds. He presented the volume to Dr. Bennett in 1936, and it has since been kept in the vault in the office of the president. A picture of McReynolds and his account of the book are in the *Okla. A. and M. College Magazine*, March, 1948, pp. 6-7. See also, Helen Freudenberger, "Records and Reminiscences," *ibid.*, Oct., 1936, p. 5.

by far from the bottom of the list—is preserved for future generations. In time, say another 100 years, it will be a priceless shrine. It clearly represents the pinched purses, the hopes and the high aspirations of those who struggled there in the days that carried little more than hope. Its presence will give a lift to many students and visitors long after those early grads, and those of us who still live, are gone.

Recently I visited the restored old Colonial Capitol at Williamsburg, Virginia, and observed the importance of that old spot in giving a refresher course in patriotism, in history, to the hundreds of visitors the days I was there. Restored, at that. The few old originals are shrines and, somehow, mean much more.

Old Central can be preserved as an original. I know you can safely forget that "sand" foundation. If there is a tougher red hardpan anywhere in the state than lays underneath that building, I don't know where it is. The contractor certainly used plenty of cuss words trying to describe it. I saw the foundation dug, bricks and stones go up day by day and reported weekly progress in the *Gazette*. That old building, unless intentionally destroyed, will be there 500 years from now—a priceless shrine. Keep it there.

Northup said that Old Central "is tucked in that hardpan so solidly that it will outlast many of the modern things now being thrown together." Hartman added: "After I helped dig the water line from west of Theta Pond to the southwest corner of Old Central, I had thought I was the only one who really got acquainted with that hardpan."

Alfred Edwin Jarrell, brother of Mary Jarrell, enrolled in Oklahoma A. and M. College on December 14, 1891, the day the college opened, and in Old Central he graduated in the first class, 1896. He was the last survivor of the class, and strong devotion to his Alma Mater and to the memory of his classmates continued to the end of his life. Historians of the college will always be indebted to him for his narrations.[11] Jarrell said that Old Central was "the only landmark on the campus that ties the great College to the past." He noted that if for no other reason, it should be preserved to show what the college was like in 1896, and that nothing else illustrates so well the growth of the institution. He added:

Every member of my class, as well as a few from other classes, wheeled a lot of bricks up the inclined ramp so that the masons could shorten the building time. We would have done this, if they paid us or not, just to hurry things along. So I for one want Old Central to stand until the brick and sandstone turn to dust!

[11] For many years prior to his death on May 16, 1959, A. E. Jarrell came annually from his home in Bakersfield, California, to the spring reunions at the college. His best article is, "The Founding of Oklahoma A. and M. College: A Memoir," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3 (Autumn, 1956), pp. 315-325. See also the *Daily O'Collegian*, Jan. 30, and July 21, 1942; *Stillwater Daily News-Press*, Aug. 26, 1956; *Tulsa Sunday World*, Dec. 14, 1958; *Daily Oklahoman*, Dec. 11, 1960.

The idea that the sandstone foundation will not support such a tiny building is some crackpot politician's crazy idea. He no doubt wants to chisel his name on the cornerstone of some new building. If so, let him find some other building site. If the foundation is weakened, for any reason, it can easily be reenforced with cement. So I say, Long Live Old Central!

Emma Swope (Mrs. L. M. Dolde) graduated in 1898. She was the daughter of Amon W. Swope, civic leader in the founding of Stillwater. So firmly impressed in her memory were the problems of the pioneers that her devotion to Old Central never waned. Writing from California, she said:

I want to express gratitude, along with the many others of the Half-Century Club, that Old Central is not to be torn down but will, I hope, stand forever as a Monument to remind all who see her of the struggle and hardships that were endured to give her being.

I am very certain that I should never want to visit the Campus again if she were not there to greet my eye. Time has not effaced the many memories of the days spent within her walls.

I am so thankful that I was given the opportunity to attend A & M and to be one of the early-day graduates.

Clarence R. Donart, class of 1899, served as County Agent of Oklahoma County, and as Assistant Commissioner of the Oklahoma State Banking Department. He was a man of whom the Aggies could well be proud, one whose influence was felt on the campus and in the business world. He said:

I was leisurely reading the interesting article in the magazine, "Looking to the Future," when my eyes fell upon the picture of Old Central and Williams Hall with the notation that these "buildings were long past retirement age and must be replaced in the very near future." After blinking a few times to be sure that my eyes were seeing properly, I finished reading the article with a great deal of surprise, pain, grief and shock.

I am in full agreement that there are old buildings on the campus that have outlived their usefulness and to attempt to rehabilitate them would be economically unsound, but not Old Central. It has a historical value to the State of Oklahoma far in excess of any economic appraisal we might give to it and it is worthy of the necessary repairs to keep it habitable at least as a museum.

Redmond Selecman Cole graduated at the University of Missouri. He served as Assistant United States Attorney for the Western District of Oklahoma, and later was elected Judge of the Pawnee-Tulsa District. He was First Vice-President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and was a member of the legal department of the Gulf Oil Company of Tulsa.[12] In 1955 he compared Old Central to certain landmarks on the campus of his Alma Mater:

[12] Fannie B. Misch, "Redmond Selecman Cole, "*Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1960), pp. 242-244.

When Missouri University had its disastrous fire about sixty or more years ago, the main Building was destroyed. In front were Six massive columns. When it was proposed that these be dynamited and removed, some old grads rose in rebellion. The columns were retained and now constitute one of the most impressive parts of the Campus. Any man who would deface or attempt to destroy one of these columns would likely be dealt with severely.

Charles Vincent Jones graduated in 1902. Later he received a law degree at the University of Kansas. In 1955 he said: "Old Central is regarded by all the early classmen as a part of the treasured traditions of the College, the very soul, so-to-speak, of the institution."

After graduating from Oklahoma A. and M. College in 1905, William Leslie English served three years as director of the agricultural experiment station there. He became a field agent for the United States Department of Agriculture. Eventually he located at Springfield, Missouri, where he held such positions as Agricultural Supervisor for the Frisco Railroad, Vice-President of the Frisco Transportation Company, and Mayor of Springfield. In 1955 he wrote:

When I first attended A. & M., 52 years ago, nearly all student activities were centered around Old Central. The president, Dr. Scott, had his office in this building, and for two years after 1905 I had an office on the ground floor. Hundreds of former students who have had little opportunity to visit the college have a warmer feeling for this building than some folks are able to imagine, and while I realize that progress is essential in such an institution as A. & M. has grown to be, I am nevertheless mindful of the fact that there are certain sentimental attachments to an institution of this kind that ought to be given consideration if at all possible.

A few early alumni looked bravely on the suggestion of razing Old Central, but weakened after more mature consideration. Ninabelle Hurst Nichols graduated in 1903 in a class of 23 members. For the first time in a decade, commencement exercises were not held in the Assembly Hall of Old Central, but in the new Library, now called Williams Hall. Ninabelle began a teaching career at High Prairie School in Payne County, and advanced to the Los Angeles system. She was a distinguished baseball umpire and newspaper columnist, and she wrote poems and songs. *Vinegar Pie* published in 1957 is her autobiography, and contains her philosophy of life. In 1955 she said:

I have no objection to the razing of Old Central. I believe in progress and in not letting the past hamper the development of the future. I think that the ground covered by Old Central and its contiguous land area is a strategic location for a great modern building which would enhance the appearance of the southern approach to the campus.

However, in case Old Central is razed, I would urge that a portrait of it, and a scaled model of it too, be kept within the

View of the campus of Oklahoma State University, showing development and present buildings with

building covering the ground where Old Central now stands. To me, that would be sufficient for old grads to point to, and to reminisce over, while pointing with greater pride to a greater building.

In 1963 Ninabelle returned to the campus for the sixtieth anniversary of her graduation, and for a reunion former students of the High Prairie School were holding in her honor. She engaged a room in the Student Union. The following day she requested and secured a better room, "better, because I had a good view of Old Central."

Carved in stone at the front doors of Old Central are dozens of initials, and many a grad has returned there to have a rendezvous with memories. Willa Adams Dusch gave the following account:[13]

Our reunion with the Half-Century Club, and the other classes, had just ended, this beautiful day in June, 1955; all had returned to their homes, and I felt alone. I was musing over the gay, happy events just experienced as I strolled along toward the campus. It was sunset—such a gorgeous sunset, and it just seemed natural for me to stroll on to Old Central—there, I walked up the old familiar steps where I had walked so many times, it seemed yesterday, and I looked across the campus so breath-takingly beautiful in the soft colors of the sunset. I put out my hand and touched the stone walls in loving adoration—how strong, how firm they looked, and as I glanced around, how many, many names still carved on the walls around the steps. I found a pencil and paper in my purse and I could not resist the temptation to copy a few of the initials carved on those stone walls.

I sat on the steps awhile to indulge in reverie, and the initials just copied seemed to fade away and I was looking at the very first initials that were carved there—when dear Old Central was a very new building. I know not why there is an age-old desire to carve names or initials; youth has done so all through the years, on stones, or even on the trunk of a tree. Old Central was then so new and the stone walls just seemed to invite carved initials.

If a group paused on the steps of Old Central—there was an irresistable impulse to carve initials, sometimes singly, sometimes in couples, more often couples, but not necessarily "steadies"; perhaps just dating at that particular time, or very often just real congenial, good friends—but even so, they carved their initials. There was just a little thrill as they carved them and speculated on how many years their names would be there. I believe there was a feeling of wanting to "leave their mark"—and they did. It is now with a great deal of pride—unspeakable pride, that I recall so many who carved their initials on the walls of Old Central, then who have gone forth and carved their niche in world affairs.

Just then my reverie was broken by a young couple, walking hand in hand, and as they stepped up on the first step—they paused,

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[13] Willa Adams Dusch prepared a book-length manuscript called *Little Gusta*, giving an account of pioneer days in Oklahoma Territory. It deals in part with Old Central. A microfilm copy is in the State Library in Oklahoma City. See also the *Okla. A. and M. College Magazine*, May, 1956, p. 29. Useful on the history of Old Central is a *Scrapbook* in the university Library, made by Mrs. Dusch.

for they were startled to find someone seated there at the top step. There was a look of puzzled inquiry on their faces as they hastily turned and strolled on. Little did they dream it was only a member of the Half-Century Club holding a rendezvous with memories.

OLD CENTRAL

There are many poems about Old Central, and among them is one by Vingie E. Roe, written in 1902 when she was a student.[14] She won national fame as a writer, and in accordance with her will, thirty-one books written by her were placed in the Rare Book Division of the Library of Oklahoma State University.

On the College Steps

The autumn twilight hangs abroad o'er all
The land, cool, dark, and beautiful. One star
Glides up the reach of silent, mystic sky,
And from the plains steals in a southern breeze.
A faint glow fires the west and 'gainst its light
Tall, black, and shadowy, the College stands.
And sitting here upon the steps which make
A dim, white bulk amid the darker gloom,
A dream, born of the twilight, fills my heart—
A dream of all the faces which have passed
In at these portals, and come forth again
In armor strong, invincible, to meet
The world. Scattered afar are they o'er all
The empires. Here and there a name we know.
At other names which rang within these walls
The tears come up; and scent of funeral flowers
Sweet, sad, and heavy, drifts across the heart
With secret pain. Ah, every nook and stone
Of this old College holds a memory,
Either gold or grey, of hopes born here
Which led their eager followers up to fame,
Or vain regret of those who missed the goal;
And we who mount these steps to climb and strive
Who knows what life shall hold for us? For whom
Shall be the bay leaves, whose the quiet grave?
The twilight falls to darkness, and the stars
Faithful, unchangeable, true symbols of
The Care Supreme, shine over all with their
Eternal, silent whisper, "It is well."

—Vingie E. Roe.

[14] B. B. Chapman, "Author Discovered by A. C. Scott," *Okla. A. and M. College Magazine*, March, 1954, pp. 3-4. See also *Stillwater Daily News-Press*, Nov. 6, 1958; *Tulsa World*, Nov. 19, 1958.

LEE COMPERE AND THE CREEK INDIANS

*By Carolyn Thomas Foreman**

Many accounts have been written concerning the harsh treatment suffered by the Reverend Samuel Austin Worcester and the Reverend Elizur Butler, missionaries to the Cherokees, at the hands of the white people of Georgia. Their imprisonment became a cause célèbre which was decided by no less a person than Chief Justice John Marshall.

An equally well known missionary among the Creek Indians, the Reverend Lee Compere, was abused and vilified by white commissioners of the State of Georgia during the investigation concerning the killing of General William McIntosh who had signed a treaty by which his fellow tribesmen were deprived of the principal part of their land. This matter has not received the publicity of the Worcester-Butler outrage, although several prominent whites and Indians were involved.

William McIntosh, son of a Scot, Laclan McIntosh, and a full blood Indian mother of Coweta town, was one of the signers of the treaty of 1805, by which the Oconee-Ocmulgee tract was ceded to Georgia. McIntosh, head chief of Coweta, was the most prominent ruler of the Lower Towns, but he was subordinate to Little Prince.

In May, 1824, the Creeks met at Tuckabatchi Town and decided to follow the examples of the Cherokees in refusing to sell any more of their land. It was decided that their laws were to be put into writing and that their chiefs must abide by the laws. Agent John Crowell, later in the year, summoned the chiefs to meet the United States commissioners at Broken Arrow to cede more land, but the chiefs met at Pole Cat Springs where they reaffirmed their pact against the sale of any of their lands.

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*This article on the work of Lee Compere, Missionary to the Creek people, by Carolyn Thomas Foreman, well known author in the Oklahoma history field, who has contributed outstanding articles published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, was written many years ago and later sent to the Editorial Office for possible publication in *The Chronicles* (1955). The Editor is gratified to call attention here to Mrs. Foreman's review on the work of this noted Baptist missionary, Lee Compere since it appropriately introduces the early Baptist work among the Cherokees and the Creeks in Georgia, Alabama and Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), given in Notes and Documents of this issue of *The Chronicles* (see "New Hope Baptist Mission, Cherokee Nation, 1832").—Ed.

When the commissioners met in December at Broken Arrow, their plan was frustrated by a refusal. But undaunted they called a few chiefs to meet in February at Indian Springs, near the home of McIntosh who signed, as did Etommee Tustennuggee, in spite of the warning of Opothleyahola that death would be their fate if they ceded their land in Georgia and Alabama in exchange for land in the west.

This Treaty of 1825 led to the death of the Creek signers. They were shot as they emerged from the home of McIntosh which had been set afire. The avenging party was led by Menawa or Big Warrior, speaker of the Upper Creeks, who was opposed to disposing of their territory.[1] Big Warrior was a descendant of the Piankeshaw tribe, and he boasted of his northern blood. He was a Tukabatchi, and one of the largest men ever seen among the Creeks. Tecumseh tried in vain to arouse Big Warrior in 1811 when he presided at a council at Tukabatchi. He became enraged and told Big Warrior: "Your blood is white! You have taken my talk, and the Sticks, and the wampum and hatchet, but you do not mean to fight."[2]

T. S. Woodward wrote that he knew Menawa, or Big Warrior, very well. At a council in 1835 he held up his hands and said: "Here are the hands that are stained with the blood of McIntosh, and I am now ready to stain them again in the blood of his enemies, and those who have made me the dupe of their foul designs. When I done the deed I thought I was right, but I am sorry."[3]

Georgia commissioners met the Creek chiefs at Indian Springs on January 8, 1821, and McIntosh was inclined to make the cession of land demanded by them, but the chief of Tukabatchi declared: "McIntosh knows that we are bound by our laws, and that what is not done in the public square in general council, is not binding on our people." He informed the commissioners that was the only talk he had for them, and returned to his home, followed by thirty-five other chiefs. The commissioners informed McIntosh that his signature and that of his thirteen followers would be binding on the Nation. The Creeks by this treaty thus lost a vast part of the Lower Creek territory.[4]

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[1]Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941), pp. 75, 88.

[2]John P. Brown, *Old Frontiers* (Kingsport, Tennessee, 1938) p. 358.

[3]Thomas S. Woodward, *Woodward's Reminiscences* (Montgomery, Alabama, 1939,) pp. 116, 168.

[4]Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

The commissioners who signed the Treaty of Indian Springs in the present Butts County, Georgia, on February 12, 1825, were Duncan G. Campbell and James Meriwether. Their signatures were followed by those of William McIntosh, head chief of the "Cowetaus," [Cowetas]; Etomme Tustunneggee of "Cowetau," and fifty other Creeks, including Chilli McIntosh (a son of General William McIntosh), Benjamin Marshall, and William Kanard. The document was executed in the presence of John Crowell, Agent for Indian Affairs; William F. Hay, Secretary; William Meriwether and William Hambly, U. S. Interpreter.

On July 25, 1825, Big Warrior, Yohola Micco, Little Prince with three other Creeks, and Agent Crowell signed a quit claim conveyance to William McIntosh in exchange for a reserve of one thousand acres of land including Indian Springs, and six hundred and forty acres on the western bank of the Okmulgee River. The commissioners agreed to buy the McIntosh holdings for $25,000.[5]

At the City of Washington, January 24, 1826, the treaty of Indian Springs was repudiated in the following words: "The treaty concluded at Indian Springs, on the twelfth day of February, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five . . . is hereby declared to be null and void, to any intent and purposes whatsoever . . ."[6]

Lee Compere was born at Market Harbor, England, on November 3, 1790. He was a son of John Compere and Grace Fox Compere. When he became of age, he elected to go as a missionary to Jamaica. He married Susannah Voysey shortly before he sailed for his post from Bristol on November 15, 1815. After two years labor among the Negroes on Jamaica, his doctor advised him to leave the Island as malaria had undermined his health and that of his wife. They settled in Charleston, South Carolina, for the time being.

After Congress appropriated $10,000 for Indian education in 1819, President Monroe thought this money should be expended by benevolent societies, and as the Creeks had asked that a school be established among them, Lee and Susannah Compere were selected to undertake the work under the patronage of the American

[5]*The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, Richard Peters (ed.), Boston, 1846, vol. VII, pp. 215, 239; Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America*, Edinburgh, 1933, vol. I, pp. 265, 271, notes 5, 7.

[6]*The Public Statutes at Large*, vol. VII, p. 286.

Baptist Board of Missions. The Secretary, Dr. Staughton, reported concerning Compere: ". . . he is a man in whom your Board have confidence, as to character and talents . . . . He makes no requisition on the Board for his services, but a comfortable support for himself and family . . . . and remove himself and family, consisting of a wife and two small children, from South Carolina to the Nation. . . ."

Tukabatchi, on the Tallapoosa River in Elmore County, Alabama, was selected for the mission station and it was first called by the Creek name, but this was later changed to "Withington" in honor of a Baptist in New York who helped to support the mission. A contract was let for building, and in June, 1823, the little family, with a new baby took up their life among the Creek Indians.

A report to the General Baptist Convention in 1824 stated that the station was prosperous and that the Indians were aware of the importance of educating their young people: "Brother Compere has exerted his utmost efforts for the welfare of the establishment and is entitled to the love and respect of his brethren." There were forty-two pupils in the school, and Compere stated that they had improved beyond his expectations. One of the students, John Davis, became well known in later life as the first native missionary among his tribesmen in the West where he did yeoman service at North Fork Town, Creek Nation, (near present Eufaula, McIntosh county).

Colonel Thomas L. McKenney, United States agent for the Indians, wrote of Mr. Compere: "I find in Mr. Compere all the necessary qualifications both in acquirements and disposition to make himself useful to these people . . . he has made himself well acquainted with the structure and grammar of their language, and begins to speak it."[7]

Mr. and Mrs. Compere lived at Tukabatchi for six years, but, according to Pickett, the Alabama historian, he made little headway in converting the Creeks owing to the opposition of the chiefs to the abolition of their primitive customs. He was a learned man and a writer. He furnished the Indian Bureau at Washington with a complete vocabulary of the Muscogee or Creek language and also the Lord's Prayer. Pickett says, "In 1833, I often heard Mr. Compere and his wife sing beautiful hymns in the Creek tongue . . ."[8]

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[7]Amy Compere Hickerson, *The Westward Way*, Atlanta, 1945, 1945, pp. 11, 19.

[8]Albert James Pickett, *History of Alabama*, (Birmingham, 1900), notes pp. 80, 81.

When Big Warrior boasted that his people ". . . reached the waters of the Alabama and took possession of all this country, they went further—conquered the tribes upon the Chattahoochie, and upon all the rivers from thence to Savannah—yes, and even whipped the Indians then living in the territory of South Carolina, and wrested much of their country from them," Mr. Compere interposed the question: "If this is the way your ancestors acquired all the territory now lying in Georgia, how can you blame the American population in that State for endeavoring to take it from you?" Thereafter the Big Warrior would not give the missionary a particle of information regarding the history of the Creeks.[9]

Commissioner William H. Torrance and Seaborn Jones of Georgia submitted a list of questions to the Reverend Lee Compere, to which he made answer on June 27, 1825, from Asbury, as follows:[10]

In answer to your interrogatories, I have to state that, with respect to your inquiry 'if I was present when McIntosh and Etome Tustunnuggee were killed?' I say I was not.

. . . My belief is, that the cause of their death was the signing a treaty which ceded away part of their land to the United States, in violation of their own laws. My understanding is, that the particular law was one made some years ago, which had been renewed at Broken Arrow, and afterwards at Polecat Springs. This impression I received from a conversation had with Big Warrior soon after the breaking up of the meeting between the United States' commissioners and the Cherokees, and from several conversations with different chiefs after the Indians met at Polecat Springs. With regard to the signing of such a law by McIntosh, I know nothing about it.

After McIntosh was shot, I have been frequently informed he was taken out of the house by a chief whose name I do not now remember. With respect to a conversation passing between him and the chief at that time: at first I did not understand such a circumstance did take place, but I have now some reason to believe that my information . . . was circumstantially incorrect. For the substance of that conversation I refer you to a paragraph in my letter published in the Southern Intelligencer, to the editor of which paper I have subsequently forwarded a notice to inform him in what respect it was incorrect . . . .

As it respects Colonel Crowell's opposition and agency with regard to a cession of land, I know nothing at all, except that I understood from some of the chiefs, after the meeting at Broken Arrow, that he was altogether neutral . . . .

The first time I heard of the killing of McIntosh was on the day the chiefs arrived at Tuckaubatchee with the information to that effect. That morning I had intended to go to Ufauley town, on business relative to our mission, but was informed by our boys that the Indians were gone up the river to kill McIntosh; and on further inquiry was told that this was known among our boys about five days.

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[9]Pickett, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[10]*American State Papers*, "Indian Affairs," vol. VI, p. 836.

On being asked why they did not tell me, was answered, because we thought you would tell somebody else....

As it respects Colonel Crowell being the instigator of the murder of McIntosh, I can only state that I do not believe it, for two reasons:

1st. The principal chiefs in my neighborhood deny it in the most unequivocating terms.

2d. The agent met the Indians and informed them that the treaty was ratified. Some of the Indians called at our place, and declared that the agent and they had not been friendly all the meeting, for that the chiefs had quarrelled with him all the time.

Major T. P. Andrews (special agent) wrote to the editors of the *National Intelligencer* on September 17, 1825, regarding calumnies against him which had appeared in their paper. He enclosed an article which had been printed in the *National Journal* regarding the making of the late treaty with the Indians and gave freely his opinion of the characters of the Georgia commissioners.

He stated in regard to the Reverend Lee Compere:[11]

... The commissioners insinuate that I improperly withheld my opinion, when appealed to by the Rev. Mr. Compere and the commissioners, as to the absolute necessity of his making an oath to the evidence which the commissioners had demanded of him. I was not the keeper of the Rev. Mr. Compere's conscience ... and having never made theology a profession, I did not consider myself capable of arguing a learned divine out of a religious scruple or prejudice. If the commissioners intend to complain that I would not use force to compel that reverend gentleman to do what his conscience dictated to him he ought not to do, they should recollect that so far from possessing that power myself, it was not in the Government even which had delegated to me all the little authority I possessed as its agent...

The conduct of the commissioners towards the reverend gentlemen residing in the nation as missionaries was of the most extraordinary character. The first question put to one of those gentlemen, (Mr. Compere, of the Baptist mission,) a gentleman of the most pious and exemplary character, was, whether he was present with the party who killed McIntosh. Towards another (Mr. Smith, of the Methodist mission,) they acted, if possible, in a still more shameful manner. After giving him certain interrogatories to answer, one of the commissioners (Colonel Jourdan) declared, before they had received his answers, that they would not believe one word he might state, even on oath.... Their deportment towards those reverend gentlemen, in their own house, was such that the amiable females of their families were thrown into grief and confusion.[12]

I venture to assert, and leave it to time to test the truth of the assertion, that there are not attached to any church or churches in this country three clergymen of more irreproachable character, or who are more devoted to religion and virtue, than the three gentlemen alluded to. One of them (the Rev. Mr. Smith) was a revolutionary patriot and soldier, but has been, for the last forty years, a minister of the gospel. I understood, in South Carolina, that he had resided

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 855.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 857.

from twenty-five to thirty years of his life in one place (Camden) in that State; where he is now venerated for his years, his piety, and his virtue."[13]

Special Agent Andrews wrote the Georgia commissioners from Princeton, near Broken Arrow, June 27, 1825, that the Reverend Mr. Compere had remarked in his presence, that he had conscientious scruples against taking an oath, *"unless in cases of absolute necessity."*[14]

From Asbury, June 27, 1825, Issac Smith, Lee Compere and W. C. Hill wrote to Messrs. Seaborn Jones, Wm. H. Torrance and Warren Jourdan:[15]

Gentlemen:

Since our interview with you on Saturday last, we have considered your request, and therefore beg leave to assure you, that, while for your individual persons we entertain sentiments of the highest respect, we feel no desire to infringe on you in your official capacity, we are compelled, from a sense of propriety, to decline answering any questions either under oath or affirmation. But as we have no disinclination to afford what information may be in our power, we are willing to answer questions you may propose to us, provided such inquiries are made in writing, and our answers may be given in the same way. We beg leave further to state, that, if our communication should be deemed important, if the United States should require us to give it the validity of an oath, we shall be willing to accede to it.

Major E. G. W. Butler, Aid-de-camp, and Secretary to the Mission wrote to Colonels Warren Jourdan and W. W. Williamson, Commissioners:[16]

Head-Quarters, Eastern Department,
Creek Agency, July 1, 1825.

Gentlemen:

Major General [Edmund Pendleton] Gaines yesterday communicated to the Indian council, in the presence of Colonel Williamson, the with of the Georgia commissioners to examine a few of the chiefs, and remarked that it would not be necessary for them to remain in council after to-day, as the commissioners were desirous of taking their testimony out of council.

Hopoithle-Yoholo, speaker of the Creek nation, answered that the council would remain in session, if the general wished it, but that he would transact no business in private with the Georgia commissioners . . . Hopoithle-Yoholo replied that the plan pursued by the Georgians, of taking them out of their square, had caused all their troubles, and imposed on the general the necessity of coming here. He repeated their determination not to meet you privately, and remarked that private meetings, where persons do not adhere to the truth make difficulties, and have brought General Gaines here. He observed, moreover, that he did not know what further to say to

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 859.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 835.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 832-3.

you, as you had learned their difficulties through Mr. Compere, and that he thought their business was with General Gaines, as the President required information; that the Indians were involved in their present difficulties by the Georgians; and as the general was about to succeed in settling them, they thought it best to refrain from an interview... that Georgia intrigues had brought them from their crops, which were necessary to feed their little children; and that the Muscogee nation and Georgia were like two children that quarrel, and if one is stronger than the other, he tells lies on him, puts him in the wrong, and then gets him whipped for it.

General Gaines here remarked, that there were good people in Georgia as in all other states; to which Hoipthle Yoholo assented.

He concluded his remarks by saying that he supposed the Master of breath had decreed that the Muscogee nation should be reduced and imposed upon; that the time had now arrived, and he presumed it must happen...

E. G. W. Butler,

Aid-de-camp, and Secretary to the Mission, (Remarks certified by William Hambly, United States Interpreter Benjamin Hawkins, Interpreter for the McIntosh party).

From Crabtree's, Creek Nation, July 3, 1825, M. J. Kenan, Secretary, wrote to Major E. G. W. Butler denying that a demand had ever been made by the Georgia commissioners to examine the Indians in private; that the wish of the commissioners was that "Hopoithle Yoholo," together with other chiefs, should be examined separately and apart, "under every restriction and safeguard which the general, the special agent, and the counsel of the agent might suggest."

The commissioners believed that the statements attributed to "Hopoithle Yoholo" had been interpreted to Major Butler as he had related:[17]

But that, if the recording angel were to make such a statement as coming from Hopoithle Yoholo, they would still be incredulous and of little faith...

They must conscientiously believe that every person who possesses an acquaintance with their situation and capacities.... would irresistibly conclude that this is not the language of an untutored savage. No, sir; they believe it to be the work of that 'wily and perfidious individual whose life and character have been too much diversified and too strongly marked to make him a fit officer of public trust;' of him who, if half that is said be true, is the most corrupt and unprincipled being that disgraces and dishonors even Indian society; of him who, it is said, was the faithful pilot of Pakenham's army in their advance upon New Orleans; who, it is also said, was the commander of a large detachment of Seminole Indians in the late war; and afterwards commanded a negro fort on the Applachicola at the close of the war; and who, to clap the climax, is at this time the trustworthy and confidential interpreter of your Government...

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 833.

You will no doubt think the remarks concerning Mr. Hambly to be acrimonious; they nevertheless are deemed just, and necessary to a vindication of their conduct, and the respectable citizens of our much beloved state, upon whom, of late, copious showers of slander and abuse have been gratuitously and wantonly poured. An illusion has been made to the Rev. L. Compere—a passing remark will suffice on that subject. The commissioners think him a fit associate and companion of the interpreter of your Government, and they are confirmed in the opinion from the reflection that he has, with the most unblushing effrontery, made public a statement relative to the late disturbances in the Creek nation, which he refuses to confirm by affirmation or oath; a statement with which truth has no connexion. And they are justified in the conclusion that, when gentlemen of his cloth turn turn hypocrites and degrade the dignity of their office, they become the most mercenary and deceitful revilers of truth, regardless alike of every moral principle and every sentiment which bind, govern, or influence the conduct of pious and honest men ... M. J. Kenan, *Secretary to Mission.*

Feeling became so tense that the Georgia associations withdrew support of the Creek missions for several years, but the Baptist-Triennial Convention maintained work until the Creeks were removed to the West.

Mr. and Mrs. Compere moved to Montgomery County, Alabama, where he was the minister who organized Rehoboth Church. In 1829 Lee Compere was elected president of the Alabama State Convention, and later he became pastor of the First Baptist Church in Montgomery.

That the missionaries were fond of their Creek friends is shown by the fact that the Comperes named one of their children *Susannah Muscogee* (called "Cogee" by her family), and a son *Thomas Hichichee.* Mrs. Compere died September 6, 1834, having spent half of her life as a missionary.

Lee Compere became president of the Baptist Education Society in Mississippi in 1835. In 1848, when Henry F. Buckner was sent as a missionary to the Creeks in Indian Territory, Compere wished to join him, but, near sixty years of age, he was suffering with heart disease and his second wife, Sarah Jane Beck Compere, would not consent to go among the Indians, of whom she had great dread. However, before the Civil War he and his family joined his son Hichichee in Arkansas and later they all moved to Texas where Lee Compere spent the last years of his life. He died June 15, 1871. He was described as "a man of quiet unassuming dignity, urbane, and deferring to others ... a most pleasant and affectionate fireside companion... he showed himself the peer of the most pretentious, without seeming effort commanding the respect of the highest and most distinguished."

INVESTIGATION OR PROBITY? INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE AFFAIRS OF THE KIOWA-COMANCHE INDIAN AGENCY, 1867

*By William E. Unrau**

Writing for *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1870, Colonel George Ward Nichols described certain factors that in his opinion were responsible for Indian hostility on the Great Plains. Referring to the "Indian Ring," a combination allegedly comprised of certain congressmen, Indian commissioners, superintendents, agents and contractors believed to be reaping enormous profits by the fraudulent handling of Indian annuities, Colonel Nichols complained:[1]

> In Washington, New York, on the Plains, everywhere, there was a combination to defraud. But worst of all, on the border, where the Indian was unprotected, far removed from chance of detection, the robbery was most barefaced. The Indian was cheated in every way . . . The sutler who sold goods cheated him, the agent who paid his annuities robbed him, the official defrauded him . . . What wonder the Indian became worse than a Bedouin Arab, with his hand against every man and every man's hand against him.

This indictment, especially of the agent, echoed the contention of Henry B. Whipple, Episcopal Bishop of Minnestota who as early as 1862 had warned President Lincoln that field agents for the Indian Department often were selected not for their personal qualifications, but rather as a reward for party work. "John Doe desires a place, because there is a tradition on the border that an Indian agent with fifteen hundred dollars a year can retire upon an ample fortune in four years," charged Whipple. "The Indian bewildered, conscious of wrong, but helpless, has no refuge

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[1] Colonel George Ward Nichols, "The Indian: What We Should Do With Him," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XL (April, 1870), p. 733.

but to sink into depths of brutishness never known to his father."[2]

Conditions in Indian country during the sixties obviously varied from one agency to another, but on the southern plains, roughly the area south of the Arkansas river where by the end of the Civil War the Kiowas and Comanches (and their allies, the Southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes) constituted the principal barrier to immediate white settlement, charges of agent duplicity and chicanery were particularly pointed. When, in July, 1867, the *Leavenworth Conservative* charged that "... the Indian office is a general rendezvous for agents, contractors, traders and the small army of associated ringmasters, who hover like buzzards about the rich spoils which tempt their avarice,"[3] it turned out that the charge was primarily directed at Kiowa-Comanche agent Jesse Henry Leavenworth (1807-1885), son of General Henry Leavenworth, famous dragoon commander who had been instrumental in maintaining peace among the tribes of the southern border some thirty years earlier.

Like his famous father young Leavenworth pursued a military career, but never with great dedication. He resigned his West Point commission in 1836 and after working for a while as a civil engineer in Chicago and as a lumber merchant in Milwaukee, he traveled west in 1860 to seek his fortune in Colorado Territory. It was as a judicial official in the turbulent mining camps in and around Blackhawk and Georgetown that Leavenworth emerged as a man of prominence, an individual upon whose shoulders considerable responsibility for containing the Confederate threat to the Territory was expected to rest. But during the summer and early fall of 1863, less than two years after his return to the regular army as commander of the Second Regiment Colorado Volunteers, Colonel Leavenworth fell victim to a series of Territorial political maneuvers that on September 28 led to his dishonorable expulsion from the army. Aware of the cynicism of those who had accused him of "irregular and deceptive conduct in organizing his regiment," he secured a hearing with the Judge Advocate General in Washington, and by order of President Lincoln dated March 5, 1864, Leavenworth was officially cleared of the charges that had led to his abrupt dismissal. Now the way was clear for him to resume his military career, perhaps with a pro-

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[2] Henry B. Whipple, Indian Affairs in Minnesota, 37 Cong., 2 Sess., *Senate Miscellaneous Documents No.* 77 (Serial 1124), p. 5.

[3] *Leavenworth Conservative* (Kansas), July 11, 1867.

COLONEL JESSE HENRY LEAVENWORTH

motion, but by then he was disillusioned with the establishment. While in Washington he was offered a position in the Interior Department as agent for the Kiowas and Comanches; Indian affairs on the southern plains following the War would certainly become increasingly complex and here was an opportunity to play a significant role in the inevitable conflict between the army, the settlers and the tribes.[4]

If Leavenworth believed that his return to the frontier in 1864 as an Indian agent would silence those who had questioned his public virtue, he soon was to be keenly disappointed. Serious efforts to censure him and to force his dismissal came in January, 1867, but by then he was familiar with the manner in which agents could be abused by merchants who sought lucrative government contracts or by aggressive military commanders and angry frontier newspaper editors. To complicate matters, the conduct of certain agents then employed by the Indian Department on the Southern Plains added little stature to the position Leavenworth now enjoyed, and, in fact, seemed to suggest that general indictments concerning malpractices in the southern agencies were not without substance.

The operations of Hiram W. Farnsworth, Kansa agent at Council Grove, Kansas, who brazenly speculated in Indian timber lands and who subsequently moved on to greater profits as a dealer in questionable Indian depredation claims, or Milo Goodkins, Wichita agent at Towanda Springs who left the Indian service in 1866 after being charged with fraud and embezzlement, are concrete examples of predatory activity that did take place, but the lack of probity in some instances could not implicate *all* who served in that region. As Senator John Wilkinson of Minnesota (a state with its share of Indian difficulty) wisely pointed out in June, 1864, "It is very popular to say that all agents are wicked thieves [but] no office in the United States is more

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[4] Caroline Thomas Foreman, "Colonel Jesse Henry Leavenworth," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XIII, No. 1 (March, 1933), pp. 14-16; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), Vol. I; Dawson Scrapbooks, Library Division, State Historical Society of Colorado, Vol. V; *Daily Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), February 6. 1861; Thomas M. Marshall (ed), "Minutes of the Eureka District," *Early Records of Gilpin County, Colorado, 1859-1861* (Denver, W. F. Robinson Company, 1920), pp. 61, 96, 99; Judge Advocate General's Report, Washington, February 18, 1864, typed copy, Second Colorado Veterans Papers, Manuscript Division, State Historical Society of Colorado. For a summary account of Leavenworth's conflict with Colorado Territorial officials see William Unrau, "The Civil War Career of Jesse Henry Leavenworth," *Montana the Magazine of Western History*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (Spring, 1962), pp. 74-84.

difficult to perform. The vagabonds who hang around the border are the real troublemakers."[5]

Jesse Leavenworth's initial experiences as an Indian agent add creditability to the contentions of Senator Wilkinson. Soon after he accepted his new assignment he was ordered to purchase and deliver supplies for the Navajos who then were being moved to the Bosque Redondo reservation in eastern New Mexico Territory. Federal law stipulated that purchases for the tribes be made upon written requisition of the superintendent in charge (in this case the head of the New Mexico Superintendency), but in this instance an exception was made.

Because of the nomadic state of the "wild and untractable Kiowas and Comanches," and because Indian commissioner William Dole considered Leavenworth an exceptionally trustworthy agent, it was agreed that he would be allowed to exercise judgement independent of any superintendent, the only qualification being a requirement to consult with Dole and the Interior Department on fundamental policy matters. Thus certain advantages Leavenworth now enjoyed were obviously offset by his being made vulnerable to criticism, especially in regard to the handling of government contracts.[6]

It was not long before Leavenworth was charged with operating the Kiowa-Comanche agency for his own profit. On August 8, 1864, he purchased on the New York market supplies for the Bosque Redondo reservation worth $17,640. He was aware of the immense distance to New Mexico, but recent experiences as an army officer on the frontier had taught him that even with the cost of transportation taken into consideration, prices on the eastern market often were lower than at such Missouri river towns as Atchison, Leavenworth and Westport. Then, so he would not be accused of favoring eastern merchants over those who oper-

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[5] D. N. Cooley to Hiram W. Farnsworth, August 15, 1865, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Sent, National Archives, hereafter cited as OIA, LS; Farnsworth to Lewis Bogy, March 5, 1867, Hiram W. Farnsworth Papers, Manuscript Division, Kansas State Historical Society; John B. Sanborn, Thomas Murphy, James Steele, William S. Harney and Jesse H. Leavenworth to James Harlan, October 31, 1863, Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1865, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Executive Document No. 1* (Serial 1248), p. 730; Milo Goodkins to Elijah Sells, October 31, 1865, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received, Wichita Agency, National Archives; *Congressional Globe*, 38 Cong., 1 Sess., pt. 3, p. 2875.

[6] Dole to Leavenworth, May 15, 16, 1864, OIA, LS; U. S. *Statutes at Large*, XII, 529; Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1865, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Executive Document No. 1* (Serial 1248), p. 214.

ated in the border country, he completed the Navajo contract with Carney and Stevens, prominent army contractors and dealers in Indian goods with warehouses at Leavenworth, Kansas. This second contract marked the beginning of a close association between Carney and Stevens and the Kiowa-Comanche agency, and while Leavenworth was now open to the charge of favoritism, it must be remembered that contracts were awarded only upon the submission of public bids as stipulated in the federal statutes. Thomas Carney, in addition to serving as governor of Kansas in 1864, was "the richest man in the state," and the firm of which he was senior partner was one of the largest and most prosperous on the Missouri river. Thus it was relatively simple for this commercial baron to underbid less enterprising concerns and to dominate much of the Indian contracting business; at the same time, however, it was possible, indeed probable, that agent Leavenworth's relationship with Carney and Stevens would be viewed with suspicion.[7]

The announcement on March 13, 1865 that the Joint Congressional Committee on the Condition of the Indian Tribes would, among other things, "examine fully into the conduct of the Indian agents" was welcome news to those who hoped to even scores with the Leavenworth merchants and perhaps dispose of agent Leavenworth as well. On June 30, 1866, William B. Baker, representing certain Atchison and Santa Fe merchants charged that Indian Commissioner William Dole, Agent Jesse Leavenworth and the firm of Carney and Stevens had in 1864 made an excess profit of $25,000 on the Navajo contract. Leavenworth quickly denied the charge and countered with the claim that Baker motivated by "either malice or complete ignorance." In Washington, however, where Dole had been replaced by D. N. Cooley, Baker's indictment was not ignored. Special commissioners Charles Bogy, N. W. Irwin and J. K. Graves wer dispatched to the Southern Plains to have a look at affairs of the Kiowa-Comanche agency.[8]

[7] Leavenworth to Dole, August 8, 1864, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received, New Mexico Superintendency, National Archives; testimony of Samuel G. Colley, March 7, 1865, Condition of the Indian Tribes, Report of the Joint Committee Appointed Under Joint Resolution of March 3, 1865, with an appendix, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., *Senate Report No. 156* (Serial 1279), 35; Voucher File, 1864-1866, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received, Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Agency, National Archives, hereafter cited as OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche; U. S. *Statutes at Large*, XII, 529; Albert Castel, *A Frontier State at War: Kansas, 1861-1865* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1958), p. 94.

[8] Dole to All Superintendents and Agents, March 13, 1865, OIA, LS; Frank D. Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XII, No. 3 (July, 1937), pp. 260-261.

On November 12, 1866 the commissioners presented a report that was favorable to Leavenworth. Advising that the Kiowa-Comanche agent had been diligently attending to his job, Bogy and Irwin explained that to that date Leavenworth had received no compensation for travel, that he had no funds with which to pay his couriers and interpreters and that he was energetically pursuing his responsibilities under "disadvantageous and destitute conditions." Charges of profiteering were blandly dismissed without so much as a reference to Baker's accusations.[9]

Two months later Leavenworth's operations were again subjected to criticism, this time by a military official at Fort Dodge on the Arkansas. Writing to Major General Winfield S. Hancock who was then making plans for a military campaign into Indian country that spring, Major Henry Douglas on January 13, 1867 charged Leavenworth (and other agents) with "drawing a large profit" from the illegal sale of arms and ammunition to the Indians. The agent was also accused of showing favoritism in his dealings with tribal headmen and of selling Indian annuities for his own profit. In contrast to Baker, Douglas qualified his charge by admitting, "How much of this is true I know not, but from all I can learn there seems to be at least some foundation to the story," but his caution was virtually ignored by Hancock. Eager for action, the General endorsed Douglas' dispatch and sent it on to General William T. Sherman, divisional commander at St. Louis, who in turn relayed it on to General Grant in Washington.

After Secretary of War Stanton and military committees in congress had been drawn into the affair the War Department was given blanket authority to halt the sale of guns and ammunition to the southern tribes, even though this action was a violation of federal trade statutes that dated back to Jackson's administration and which by act of congress on July 26, 1866, had been relaxed in favor of traders licensed by local judicial officials, not agents representing the Indian Department. Agent Leavenworth's protest that the tribes would starve unless they could obtain arms for hunting small game were ignored, and without a shot having been fired, and without the slightest attempt to determine the reliability of the original dispatch from Major Douglas, the matter was handled as a major crisis,

[9] Charles Bogy and N. W. Irwin to Lewis Bogy, November 12, 1866, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received, Upper Arkansas Agency, National Archives.

a subversive affair in which Indian agents were consorting with traders in a deceitful game.[10]

With Leavenworth again under suspicion, those who resented his unflinching dedication to enforce what remained of the federal trade code, and who were cognizant of delicate relationships then prevailing between the Interior and War Departments, took prompt action in preparation for a conference at Fort Larned between Hancock, Leavenworth and certain Kiowa headmen, scheduled for May 1. Fredrick F. Jones, a renegade trader with headquarters at Fort Dodge, spearheaded the anti-agent campaign.

In a nine-page letter sent to Secretary Stanton on April 26, 1867, the vindictive trader charged Leavenworth with a list of avaricious practices that, if based on irrefutable evidence, would have required the agent's immediate dismissal. On February 5, 1866, claimed Jones, Leavenworth had obtained 964 buffalo robes from the Arapahoes by illegally paying for them with government annuities; a few days later, 249 additional robes were secured in the same manner, as were substantial quanities of wolf skins, mules and Indian lariats. Most of these commodities were sold to Durfee and Company at Leavenworth; moreover, Jones claimed that he had been forced to haul the goods to Leavenworth in government wagons and that he had been paid in Indian annuities that the Kiowa-Comanche agent kept at "secret burial sites." Other crimes listed included profits from the traffic in Indian captives and "spending money too freely" while on extended absences from agency headquarters at Fort Larned. On the same day that Jones wrote Stanton, John A. Atkin, another Fort Dodge trader, dispatched a similar complaint; he claimed to have received 263 buffalo robes from Leavenworth for freighting some of the agent's contraband to warehouses in Leavenworth.[11]

With their letters on file in Washington, Jones and Atkin believed they were well prepared for Hancock's examination into the conduct of Indian affairs on the southern plains. As they saw it, there was a good chance

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[10] Henry Douglas to Winfield Hancock, January 13, 1867 and William T. Sherman to Headquarters, U. S. Army, January 25, 26, 1867, Records of the War Department, U. S. Army Commands, Division of Missouri, 1867-1868, Special File, National Archives; Progress of Indian Hostilities, 40 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Executive Document No. 13* (Serial 1308), pp. 52-55, 106; U. S. *Statutes at Large*, XVI, 230; Leavenworth to N. G. Taylor, May 16, 1867, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche.

[11] Frederick F. Jones to Stanton, April 26, 1867 and John T. Atkins to Stanton, April 26, 1867, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche.

that Leavenworth would demand that Hancock take action against unlicensed traders like themselves; if, on the other hand, they could produce "evidence" of the agent's own profiteering—"proof" that had been sent directly to the Secretary of War—perhaps Hancock would be thrown off guard and their own commercial activity would not be subjected to close scrutiny.

At the Fort Larned conference of May 1, 1867, the opponents came face to face. General Hancock and his aides were there, smarting from their recent failure to engage the Southern Cheyennes and Sioux; so were Jones, Atkin and Thomas H. Kincaid, as was Satanta in company with some lesser lights of the Kiowa tribe. Leavenworth was prepared to defend his actions, while Henry M. Stanley, the correspondent who would eventually find Livingston and fame in Africa, anxiously awaited developments that would make spectacular copy for his eastern readers.

Since Stanley's account became the principal source of information (and confusion) concerning the meeting, his comments, especially those with reference to agent Leavenworth, are of considerable importance. In contrast to Satanta, described by Stanley as "firm and unyielding," one whose name was on everyone's lips and who "stood before the glittering council with a solemn and even ascetic aspect," the agent was characterized in a manner quite the opposite:[12]

> Colonel Leavenworth is now a cripple . . . [and] his back is bent and his beard is silvered by age. He has a very astute look, and he has a good deal of red tapeism in his system. His coat pockets are always full of official documents and sundry other papers that smack of old fogyism . . . The ends of said paper can be seen sticking out an inch or so, and on each and all will be found legibly inscribed, "Leavenworth, Indian Agent."

As if to match this description, Fredrick Jones continued with the character assassination. Seizing the initiative before the council officially convened, he informed General Hancock, "I understand that Colonel Leavenworth told Satanta not to talk much today, but to go down to Fort Zara [Zarah] tomorrow and he would make it all right. He may not, therefore, talk much as he would have done." Leavenworth quickly denied this charge, but the Fort Dodge traders had their trump cards ready. Now they revealed to Hancock the content of the letters sent to Stanton; to support their case they introduced Thomas H. Kincaid, another trader who claimed that early that year Leavenworth had sold nine hundred dollars of Indian goods to

[12]*Missouri Democrat* (St. Louis), May 13, 1867.

Charles Whitaker, a licensed trader who from his headquarters at Big Bend served as an outlet for Leavenworth's illicit commerce. Stanley knew a story when he heard one, and he made the most of it. "We have reason to believe," he wrote for the *Missouri Democrat,* "that the censure [of Leavenworth] was not undeserved, as may appear from a careful investigation of evidence, which is our unpleasant lot to make public."[13]

Following this volley of abuse it was Satanta's turn to complain how his agent refused him his annuities; Leavenworth countered by reminding him that there was on file in Washington documentary evidence that he and his bands had only recently been involved in depredations in Texas and that the Indian Commissioner had agreed that "until all . . . captives were returned without ransom [and] until assurances were had that no more depredations would be committed, no annuities should be given." To his credit, General Hancock wisely advised Satanta, "I have nothing to do with that matter . . . . I cannot tell you anything about your agent [for] I have no control over him whatever . . . ." That night, in a letter to Sherman, Hancock described the testimony of Jones and the other traders as of little importance—their principal objective was to prevent a general Indian war that might create a hardship for their commercial ventures—and the charges brought against Leavenworth were, in his opinion, at best conjectures.[14]

Hancock's circumspection was matched by Stanley's indiscretion. The correspondent worked on his manuscript for several days, waiting for new developments, but in this he was disappointed. Finally, on May 13, his Fort Larned story was printed in the *Missouri Democrat* in St. Louis. To this point Agent Leavenworth displayed no great concern over statements made by the traders for Hancock had judiciously announced that commissioner Taylor would be given a transcript of the conference, and if an official inquest resulted, there was no need for worry. But it was another matter to have the charges exhibited unchallenged in an influential paper, a paper printed almost at the doorstep of General Sherman's divisional headquarters. Reflecting on the fact that public opinion concerning Indian policy was sufficiently confused without the assistance of opportunistic traders and irresponsible newspaper correspondents, Leavenworth took immediate counter measures. On

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[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.* Hancock to Sherman, May 1, 1867, Records of the War Department, Headquarters of the Army, Letters and Telegrams Received, 1866-1867, National Archives.

the day following the publication of Stanley's story, the agent fired a curt letter to commissioner Taylor, "See *Mo. Dem.* of 13th. I demand a full and searching investigation of all my official acts." This dispatch was followed by another the next day in which Leavenworth gave Taylor complete details of an abortive trading expedition south of Fort Dodge that previous January, an expedition in which Fredrick Jones had participated and over which Leavenworth had earned the eternal hatred of the unlicensed traders for having turned down their claims for damages.[15]

Others drawn into the affair needed no encouragement to denounce the charges. On the day that Leavenworth demanded an official inquest, commissioner Taylor received affidavits from three individuals who had read Stanley's story. One was from Big Bend Kansas trader Charles Whitaker who termed Kincaid's story "a base lie, a villainous misrepresentation" and part of a plot to destroy the reputation of established traders; another was from E. H. Durfee who advised Taylor that the only robes his firm had ever purchased from Leavenworth was an inferior lot worth about $160 and which had been a gift to the agent from the Indians as a token of appreciation. As for the charges that Leavenworth was in partnership with William Matthewson, both Durfee and Matthewson in no uncertain terms denied this to be the case.[16]

Nevertheless, the Indian Department did not accept these denials over the charges of Jones, Atkin and Kincaid without conducting an independent investigation; besides, Leavenworth had demanded just such action. Selected for the job of special investigator was Warren W. H. Lawrence of Topeka, former Kansas Secretary of State and member of the first state legislature. Owner and operator of a

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[15] Leavenworth to Taylor, May 14, 15, 1867, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche. At the abortive trade expedition to the Mulberry Creek area south of Fort Dodge on January 27, Frederick Jones and others claimed that the Kiowas stole sugar, rice, apples, flour as well as saddles and mules; moreover, they claimed that while at the Indian camp a Kiowa war party came in with scalps of seventeen Negro soldiers. Whether the traders were "invited" to visit the camp is problematical, but their account concerning the Negro scalps was subsequently revealed as a complete and malicious fabrication, Progress of Indian Hostilities, 40 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Executive Document No. 13* (Serial 1308), pp. 101-103; Report of the Indian Peace Commission, January 14, 1864, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Executive Document No. 97* (Serial 1337), 11-13; Hancock to Sherman, May 1, 1867, Records of the War Department, Headquarters of the Army, Letters and Telegrams Received, 1866-1867, National Archives.

[16] Affidavits of Charles Whitaker, E. H. Durfee and William Matthewson, all date May 14, 1867, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche.

freighting firm, Lawrence was well informed on the subject of competition in the Indian trade and, in fact, was far from sympathetic to the problems of Indian agent; as he later admitted to Leavenworth, "I have to state I was prejudiced against you when first assigned to the case." After several weeks of detailed investigation from "all angles," Lawrence reported that the charges were "completely without foundation." He was, in fact, so impressed with the information he had gathered that he later wrote Leavenworth, "You have unlimited influence and control over the Indians. My observations confirm that you are an exception to the general rule, so far as collusion with the Indian traders is concerned. Your removal at this time would be attended with calamity." Six months later the Indian Peace Commission released testimony taken at Fort Dodge not long after Lawrence had conducted his investigation; collectively, the reports represented a blanket exoneration of Agent Leavenworth and a cutting indictment against those traders who had fabricated reports concerning Indian depredations.[17]

In the meantime the Indian Department was involved with a case against Leavenworth that called attention to events dating back to the early fall of 1865. Since funds for presents, interpreters and other expenses incurred at the Little Arkansas Peace Treaty[18] were not immediately made available by Congress, the Peace Commissioners diverted $10,000 from the Kiowa-Comanche annuity fund based on the Fort Atkinson Treaty of 1853. Although planned as a temporary arrangement, the "loan" became a permanent transaction. With the proclamation of the Little Arkansas Treaty in May, 1866, some relief appeared in sight, but annuity payments continued to fall behind schedule. By the spring of 1867 Leavenworth fully realized the critical state of affairs, but his demands that the "loan" be repaid in the form of supplies were ignored. Reports that railroad construction crews on the Smoky Hill route were being hampered by the tribes prompted Congress to provide well over $100,000 for the Hancock military expedition, but the repayment of $10,000 diverted by the

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[17] Warren W. H. Lawrence to Leavenworth, July (no day given), 1867, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche; Report of the Indian Peace Commissioners, January 14, 1868, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Executive Document No. 97* (Serial 1337), pp. 11-13.

[18] For the background and particularly the role played by Leavenworth in this Treaty see William E. Unrau, "Indian Agent vs. the Army: Some Background Notes on the Kiowa-Comanche Treaty of 1865," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, XXX, No. 2 (Summer, 1964), pp. 129-152.

Peace Commissioners was considered less pressing, and so Leavenworth was left to counsel his wards as best he could.[19]

The disruption of Indian affairs following General Hancock's abortive expedition to the Arkansas was of considerable importance to those who were determined to keep financial assistance for the southern tribes at a minimum. In July, 1867, Governor Samuel Crawford of Kansas learned that thirty-eight wagons of supplies were headed for the southern agencies. Crawford, who at the time was having trouble enlisting his cholera-infested Eighteenth Kansas Cavalry and who was in an ugly mood after Sherman had informed him that "the Indians had not delayed the progress of the [rail] road one hour," decided the time for action had arrived. To Sherman he wrote that unless authority for seizure of the annuity train were immediately granted, he (Crawford) would order his men to burn the wagons on the spot; to Kansas Senator E. G. Ross he boomed, "Congress might with equal propriety and justice, have forwarded a train of supplies. . . to the rebel army after the first battle of Bull Run, and upon that demand [*sic*] or expected their surrender, as to expect hostile Indians to stop the war by giving them annuities."[20]

By then, however, Sherman had decided to "flush the Indians out with the Peace Commission," and so to appease the Governor, the Tenth Kansas Cavalry on July 20 was permitted to intercept the supply train at Emporia and to escort it to Camp Grierson (some sixty miles east of Fort Larned). From there it was moved to Fort Larned, and in mid-September, to the Medicine Lodge Treaty grounds where the goods were utilized in much the same manner as the Kiowa-Comanche annuities in 1865.[21]

Unaware of this strategy, Leavenworth proceeded with the affairs of his agency. Following his encounter with General Hancock and the Fort Dodge traders, he concluded that it was impossible to confine hostilities to the area north of the Arkansas. On May 17 he wrote Taylor that all contact with the Kiowas and Comanches had been lost; this

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[19] Leavenworth to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 6, 1867, Leavenworth and Thomas Murphy to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 16, 1867, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche.

[20] Samuel J. Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties* (Chicago, A. C. McClurg, 1911), 251; Crawford to E. G. Ross, June 29, 1867, Governor's Correspondence, Samuel Crawford, 1865-1868, Subject File, Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society.

[21] Sherman to Stanton, June 17, 1867, Records of the War Department, Headquarters of the Army, Letters and Telegrams Received, 1866-1867, National Archives; *Leavenworth Conservative,* July 27, 1867.

being the case, the Commissioner was instructed to detain the spring annuity shipment until matters could be discussed with General Sherman. On the 22nd Sherman assured Leavenworth that his Indians were not among those considered hostile, and on June 3, Interior Secretary Browning, Sherman and Leavenworth in conference agreed that until some peace commissioners could be sent into Indian country, Hancock's men would be confined to patrol duty along the railroad and overland routes.[22]

Aware of no immediate threats to the welfare of his Indians, Leavenworth was pleased to learn that contrary to his May 17 dispatch to Taylor, the supply train was on its way to Indian country. Then came the shocking news that Crawford's men had seized the supplies. Not sure of the outcome, but suspecting that these supplies would be handled in much the same manner as the $10,000 consignment had been in 1865, Leavenworth decided to take matters in his own hands.

In early August, after securing the half-hearted support of Thomas Murphy, Central Superintendent at Atchison, Leavenworth negotiated a contract for William Matthewson to deliver $10,342.00 worth of supplies to the Kiowa-Comanche agency. Accordingly, Matthewson journeyed south to the Little Arkansas area where he purchased 325 beeves from William Griffenstein. After some of the stock had been delivered Leavenworth explained in somewhat less than realistic terms that the transaction had been made in preparation for the "oncoming peace treaty."

Whether the treaty would actually materialize was, in Leavenworth's opinion, an open question; more certain was the fact that his wards would not starve in the meantime. And if the Indian Commissioner took exception to his having exceeded his authority, he could fall back on at least three arguments in support of his action: annuities intended for Indians that even Sherman had described as peaceful had been illegally seized by state military authorities; secondly, in July and August, 1867, no one, not even commissioner Taylor had proof that the much-discussed Medicine Lodge Treaty Council would take place. Finally, if these arguments were dismissed as irrelevant, Leavenworth could produce a

[22]Thomas Murphy to Taylor, July 27, 1867, Records of the Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received, Central Superintendency, National Archives, hereafter cited as OIA, LR, Central Superintendency; Leavenworth to Taylor, May 22, 1867, Progress of Indian Hostilities, 40 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Executive Document No. 13* (Serial 1308), pp. 108-109); O. H. Browning to W. T. Otto, June 3, 1867, Records of the War Department, Headquarters of the Army, Letters and Telegrams Received, 1866-1867, National Archives.

long-forgotten issue—the $10,000 diverted from the Kiowa-Comanche appropriation in 1865 and never repaid to Indians whose destitution since then had become progressively more critical.[23]

The Medicine Lodge Treaty Council that finally convened deep in Indian country in the fall of 1867 proved to be an instructive experience for Kiowa-Comanche agent Jesse Leavenworth. Here, some ninety miles south of his headquarters at Fort Larned, he learned that the recent investigation of his agency had come not (as he first believed) at the instance of Stanley's story in the *Missouri Democrat* but rather as a consequence of letters Fredrick Jones and John Atkin had sent directly to Secretary of War Stanton; here again he was accosted by the vindictive Fort Dodge traders who, unaware that their charges by then had been dismissed by special agent Lawrence, continued to spread what Leavenworth termed "their vile and pitiful slander." Finally, it was apparent at the Council that superintendent Murphy was trying to deny the fact that he had supported Leavenworth's negotiation of the Matthewson contract. Commissioner Taylor was there and Murphy, anxious that his own operations at Atchison would not be subjected to detailed investigation, deemed it the wisest policy to let Leavenworth assume full responsibility for the somewhat irregular purchase of supplies.[24]

Less than three weeks after the Medicine Lodge Treaties had been arranged[25] and prior to Commissioner Taylor's return to Washington, Murphy, in a letter to acting commissioner Charles E. Mix, proceeded with his plan to disguise his role in the Matthewson contract. While he could appreciate Leavenworth's "dilemma" at the time the Kiowa-Comanche annuities had been seized, confided Murphy, the agent had clearly exceeded his authority by acting without the permission of the Central Superintendency. Seven days later, on November 21, Murphy again wrote Mix. "Is Leavenworth under my control? Orders come to him through my office, but he communicates directly to Washington." His policy of retrenchment proved effective; although he had originally protested the seizure of

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[23] Leavenworth to C. E. Mix, August 10, 1867, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche.

[24] Leavenworth to C. E. Mix, December 6, 1867, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche.

[25] The Medicine Lodge Treaties are printed in Charles J. Kappler (ed. and comp.), *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), pp. 977-982, 984-986.

the supply train and in fact had informed Leavenworth that Matthewson's profit was "reasonable," he now succeeded in washing his hands of what he considered a dangerous affair.[26]

When Indian Department officials discovered what appeared to be a misuse of public funds, it was Leavenworth who was placed under suspicion; Murphy's name was not mentioned. The issue came to a climax on December 19, 1867 when Interior Secretary Browning demanded that Commissioner Taylor explain exactly what had been taking place in the disbursement of supplies to the Kiowa-Comanche agency. According to his records, complained Browning, Leavenworth had purchased goods worth $10,342.94 from Matthewson and Griffenstein at about the time the regular shipment was ostensibly delivered. Was this not an apparent duplication? Were either of the shipments actually delivered to the Indians? Demanding immediate explanations, the Secretary concluded his note to Taylor with a stinging criticism of Leavenworth's illegal assumption of authority.[27]

Not until the following summer (and after Leavenworth had left the Indian Department) was special agent Albert G. Boone able to satisfy Interior Department authorities that the former Kiowa-Comanche agent was not guilty of subversive activity. But Leavenworth had meanwhile assumed the initiative with letters of explanation to Mix and Taylor, in which he reviewed events from the time the supply train had been apprehended by Crawford's troops. Everything was accounted for and not one Indian Department official had profited from the incident, least of all the Kiowa-Comanche agent.

Thomas Carney, the Leavenworth merchant who had done business with the Department since 1864, also offered explanations; in a letter to Interior Secretary Browning he described Leavenworth as honest and dependable, "one of the best agents in this part of the country." Whatever Carney's motives his testimony was borne out by Boone's official investigation. Describing Leavenworth's accounts and his personal version of the affair as correct in every detail, Boone went on to recommend that Leavenworth be honored with an appointment to a special commission to the

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[26] Murphy to Mix, November 15, 21, 1867, Leavenworth to Taylor, November 29, 1867, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche; Murphy to Taylor, July 27, 1867, OIA, LR, Central Superintendency.

[27] Browning to Taylor, December 19, 1867, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche.

Ute Indians who then held the highly prized Kiowa-Comanche medicine idol.[28]

Following the Medicine Lodge Council in the fall of 1867 agent Leavenworth had considerable cause to be pessimistic about his own future and that of his Indians. He knew only too well how treaties and Indian appropriations were continually delayed in Congress and he also knew that by giving their support to the treaties, several Kiowa-Comanche headmen had placed their reputations at stake with many impatient members of their tribes. Anticipating no significant change in the affairs of his agency, he dutifully accepted the settlement worked out by the Peace Commission while at the same time confiding to commissioner Taylor that unless President Johnson himself intervened, there was little chance the tribes would be appreciably relieved of their destitute circumstances.[29]

Leavenworth did not arrive at the site of the proposed Kiowa-Comanche reservation in Eureka Valley (near Fort Cobb) until March, 1868, and by that time several warrior bands had reverted to their old habits of raiding the Texas settlements for captives. In January they seized seven children, in February five more. Other bands turned east to raid the Chickasaw settlements and though troops were stationed at nearby Fort Arbuckle, they refused to "take an interest in the matter." To the west the Navajos, whose illicit livestock operations in New Mexico had finally been brought under control, advanced east toward Eureka Valley and in the process forced many Kiowa-Comanche hunting parties from the Staked Plains.[30]

Reports of these developments reached Commissioner Taylor who from the perspective of his Washington office held Leavenworth responsible for the depredations; but more pointed criticism came from various military officials on the frontier. On March 6, 1868, Colonel William B.

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[28] Leavenworth to Mix, December 21, 1867, Leavenworth to Taylor, December 27, 1867, Carney to Browning, November 20, 1867, Boone to Taylor, July 31, 1868, Boone to Mix, October 3, 1868, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche.

[29] Leavenworth to Taylor, December 4, 1867, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche.

[30] Edward W. Wynkoop to Murphy, February 1, 1868, Murphy to Taylor, February 20, 1868, Philip McKusker (McCusker) to William B. Hazen, December 22, 1868, Indian Affairs in the Military Division of Missouri, 40 Cong., 3 Sess., *Senate Executive Document No. 40* (Serial 1360), 13; McCusker to Leavenworth, April 6, 1868, Leavenworth to Taylor, April 23, 1868, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche; Cyrus Harris to General (?), January 23, 1868, Outrages Committed by Indians on the Western and Southwestern Frontiers, 41 Cong., 2 Sess., *House Miscellaneous Document No. 139* (Serial 1433), p. 2.

Hazen, a critic of Indian policy in general and the Kiowa-Comanche agency in particular, wrote Major General Philip H. Sheridan that an unidentified Comanche chief had advised him that Leavenworth, not the government, was responsible for the crisis in Eureka Valley; the Indians were starving not because of a shortage of subsistence, but because their agent refused to deliver supplies that were available. The charge was either the calculated effort of a vindictive chief or an example of complete misunderstanding, but Sheridan accepted Hazen's words without qualification. Writing to departmental headquarters at Fort Leavenworth Sheridan not only reiterated Hazen's dispatch but appended the opinion of another subordinate, "Colonel [George A.] Forsyth *believes* [italics added] the only reason he [Leavenworth] calls for troops is to help consume $500,000 worth of goods being shipped by speculators to the Fort Cobb vicinity."[31]

The words of Sheridan, Hazen, Forsyth and an unidentified Comanche chief were perhaps sufficient to again place Leavenworth under surveilance, but as in 1867, the assault came from several sources. On March 31, Captain G. T. Robinson, commander of a military detachment assigned to protect surveyors and grading crews on the Seminole and Creek Railroad, reported that Leavenworth was selling whiskey, revolvers and ammunition to the Kiowas and Comanches with singular vengeance. "If ever I get out there [to Fort Cobb]," warned Robinson, "I'll stop that fun or be sent in under arrest, 'You bet!'" But the most vicious charge of all came from Phillip McCusker, Indian interpreter and superintendent Murphy's right hand man who had visions of replacing Leavenworth as Kiowa-Comanche agent. On June 5, McCusker wrote Commissioner Taylor that Leavenworth had as a speculative venture encouraged warrior bands to raid the settlements, but now that his resources for buying captives were depleted, the Indians were turning against him.[32]

With the exception of the warning on March 10 to Leavenworth that prompt action be taken over reports that his wards were raiding the Chickasaw settlements, Taylor

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[31] Taylor to Leavenworth, March 10, 1868, *ibid.*, 1; Colonel George Ward Nichols, "The Indian: What We Should Do With Him." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XL (April, 1870), 733-735; letter dictated to William B. Hazen by a Comanche chief, Hazen to Sheridan, March 6, 1868, Sheridan to Headquarters, Department of Missouri, May 22, 1868, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche.

[32] G. T. Robinson to George A. Reynolds, March 31, 1868, Leavenworth to Taylor, April 22, 1868, Philip McCusker to Taylor, June 5, 1868, McCusker to Edward Palmer, June 5, 1868, Murphy to Mix, August 26, 28, September 21, 1868, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche.

ignored the charges of Hazen, McCusker and the others. Leavenworth's part in the Matthewson contract was then under investigation and his four-year appointment was about to expire; moreover, his age and physical condition were evidence of the fact that he probably would not seek reappointment. Thus from Taylor's position, it was expedient to overlook charges that perhaps were no more reliable than those filed with Secretary Stanton by Douglas and Atkin in 1867. It was also expedient for him not to intercede on Leavenworth's behalf for this might only complicate Congressional action on the proposed Medicine Lodge settlement. Clearly, the Kiowa-Comanche agent would have to fend for himself.

On the frontier the Indians continued to spread terror through the settlements of north-central Texas. Previous forays had been largely the work of individual bandits or small, unorganized parties, but now the disillusioned Leavenworth learned that bands of Kiowas and Comanches were organizing with the announced purpose of seizing captives wherever they could be found; moreover, they were operating with the encouragement of tribal headmen who had staunchly supported the Medicine Lodge Treaties.

On May 21, 1868, after learning that the Kiowas had murdered eight more settlers and that both tribes were planning new forays against the Chickasaws, Leavenworth bitterly wrote Taylor, "My patience with them and their promises are exhausted." All annuities were to be withheld until the raids ceased and until all captives were delivered to the proper authorities; if this failed, the tribes were to be handed over to General Sherman and his troops.[33]

Leavenworth's patience was indeed exhausted. Less than a week after his letter to Taylor he left his post on the Southern Plains. He headed to Washington to settle his accounts with the Indian Department, after which he announced plans to return to the Milwaukee home he had left nearly a decade ago. S. T. Walkley was temporarily assigned to the vacant agency and, not surprisingly, was immediately subjected to the type of treatment that had been commonplace with Leavenworth. Speculators and traders demanded their usual concessions and when these were denied, Walkley was viciously abused and charged with irregular practices. Had he been informed of such developments Leavenworth would not have been shocked nor would he have been surprised to learn of equally irritating conditions Brigadier General Hazen subsequently experi-

[33] Leavenworth to Taylor, April 3, 23, May 21, 1868, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche.

enced at the hands of the Indians, General Sheridan and Governor Crawford after Sherman on August 10, 1868 ordered district military commanders "to construe themselves as agents of the Indians." But these were no longer the concerns of Jesse Leavenworth; for him it was less painful to recall the various charges of subversion when, on September 2, 1868, thirty-five headmen of his former agency testified to his unflinching probity and requested that commissioner Taylor send him back to Eureka Valley.[34]

During the troublesome four years that Leavenworth served as an Indian agent journalists, generals, congressmen and peace commissioners debated the "Indian Question," but in the final analysis, most of their arguments came down to a problem over which the agents had little control—economy in federal Indian appropriations.

On the frontier the settlers could complain about Indian depredations, about the failure of the army to perform its duty and about corruption in the agencies, but again, conditions underlying these complaints were largely beyond the control of responsible agents. Blissfully ignorant of substantial obstacles to be overcome in reducing the wilderness to a garden, the settlers often failed to solve such problems as transportation, prices and markets; lacking the means to make the return journey, it was not difficult for many to seize upon unverified accounts of agent chicanery as the principal factor underlying Indian discontent and violence.

Frugal congressmen and inherent tribal obstinacy represented scrapegoats of some consequence, yet someone intimately involved in the process of settlement was needed as a public target. As Jesse Leavenworth knew, and as others eventually realized, no one was better suited for the role of frontier subversive than the one closest to the Indian himself—*his agent.*

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[34] S. T. Walkley to W. B. Hazen, October 10, 1868, Hazen to Sherman, November 10, 1868, Battle of the Washita, 40 Cong., 3 Sess., *Senate Executive Document No. 18* (Serial 1360), pp. 15-16, 18-21; Murphy to Hazen, April 21, 1868, OIA, LR, Central Superintendency; Leavenworth to Taylor, June 18, 1868, X's representing the signatures of thirty-five tribal headmen to Taylor, September 2, 1868, OIA, LR, Kiowa-Comanche; W. B. Hazen, "Some Corrections of Life on the Plains," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, III, No. 4 (December, 1925), 298; A. O. Farnham to C. E. Mix, October 5, 1868, OIA, LR, Upper Arkansas; Sheridan to Crawford, October 8, 1868, Governor Samuel J. Crawford Telegram Copy Book, 1864-1868, Archives Division, Kansas State Historical Society; Crawford, *Kansas in the Sixties*, pp. 317-318; General Orders No. 4, Headquarters, Division of Missouri, August 10, 1868, Records of the War Department, Office of the Adjutant General, General Orders, Division of Missouri, 1865-1868, National Archives.

LETTERS OF HENRY M. RECTOR AND J. R. KANNADAY

TO JOHN ROSS OF THE CHEROKEE NATION

By Harry J. Lemley

The following letters are from the originals written by Henry M. Rector, Governor of Arkansas and Lieutenant Colonel J. R. Kannady, Commanding Fort Smith, Arkansas, to John Ross, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation in 1861:

The Rector Letter

The State of Arkansas
Executive Department
Little Rock, January 29th 1861

Sir:

To His Excellency

John Ross, Principal Chief, Cherokee Nation

Sir,

It may now be regarded as almost certain that the States having slave property within their borders, will in consequence of repeated northern aggression, Separate themselves, and withdraw from the federal government.

South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Georgia, and Louisiana have already by action of the people assumed this attitude.

Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland will probably pursue the same course by the 4th of March next.

Your people in their institutions, productions, latitude and Natural sympathies are allied to the common Brotherhood of the Slave holding States.—Our People and yours are natural allies in war, and friends in peace.

Your Country is salibrious and fertile and possesses the highest capacity for future progress and development by the application of "Slave Labor."—Besides this the contiguity of our Territory with yours induces relations of so intimate a character as to preclude the idea of discordant or separate action.

It is well established that the Indian Country west of Arkansas is looked to by the incoming administration of Mr. Lyncoln [*sic*] as fruitful fields, ripe for the harvest of Abolishionism, free soils, and northern montebanks.

We hope to find in you Friends, willing to cooperate with the South in defence of her institutions, her honor, and her firesides, and with whom the slave holding states are willing to share a common future—and to afford protection commensurate with your exposed condition, and your subsisting monetary interests with the General Government. As a direct means of expressing to you these

sentiments, I have dispatched my aid De Camp Lieut Col J I Gains to confer with you confidentially upon these subjects, and to report to me any expressions of kindness and confidence that you may see proper to communicate to the Governor of Arkansas, who is your friend and the friend of your People

Respectfully Your Obt Servt

Henry M. Rector
Governor of Arkansas

The Kannady Letter

Head Quarters
Fort Smith, May 15, 1861

Sir,

Information has reached this post to the effect that Senator Lane of Kanzas (sic) is now in that state raising troops to operate on the Western borders of Missouri and Arkansas.

As it is of the utmost importance that those entrusted with the defence of the Western frontier of this state should understand the position of the Indian tribes through whose territory the enemy is likely to pass, I feel it to be my duty, as Commanding officer at this post, and in that capacity representing the state of Arkansas and the Southern Confederacy of which she is a member, resceptfully to ask if it is your intention to adhere to the United State Government during the pending conflict, or, if you mean to support the Government of the Southern Confederacy; and also, whether in your opinion the Cherokee people will resist, or will aid the Southern troops in resisting any such attempt to invade the soil of Arkansas, or, if on the other hand you think there is any probability of their aiding the United States forces in executing their hostile designs.

I have the honor to be,
Very respectfully
Your Most Obt. Servt

J. R. Kannady
Lieut Col Commandg
Fort Smith

Hon John Ross
Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation

Chief Ross Replies to Governor Rector and Colonel Kannady

The replies of Chief John Ross to the foregoing letters from Governor Rector and Colonel Kannady are found in the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* as follows:[1]

Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation
February 22, 1861

[1] Chief John Ross in his usual excellent English firmly but courteously declined to commit himself in his replies to Rector and Kannady. These letters are found in the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Series I, Vol. XIII (Washington, 1885), pp. 491-493.

His Excellency Henry M. Rector
Governor of Arkansas:

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's communication of the 29th ultimo, per your aide-de-camp, Lieut. Col. J. J. Gaines.

The Cherokees cannot but feel a deep regret and solicitude for the unhappy differences which at present disturb the peace and quietude of the several States, especially when it is understood that some of the slave States have already separated themselves and withdrawn from th Federal Government and that it is probable others will also pursue the same course.

But may we not yet hope and trust in the dispensation of Divine power to overrule the discordant elements for good, and that, by the counsel of the wisdom, virtue, and partiotism of the land, measures may happily be adopted for the restoration of peace and harmony among the brotherhood of States within the Federal Union.

The relations which the Cherokee people sustain toward their white brethren have been established by sustaining treaties with the United Sataes Government, and by them they have placed themselves under the "protection of the United States and of no other sovereign whatever." They are bound to hold no treaty with any foreign power, or with any individual State, nor citizen of any State. On the other hand, the faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the Cherokee Nation for the protection of the right and title in the lands, conveyed to them by patent, within their territorial boundaries, as also for protection of all other of their national and individual rights and interests of person and property. Thus the Cherokee people are inviolably allied with their white brethren of the United States in war and friends in peace. Their institutions, locality, and natural sympathies are unequivocably with the slave-holding States. And the contiguity of our territory to your State, in connection with the daily, social, and commercial intercourse between our respective citizens, forbids the idea that they should ever be otherwise than steadfast friends.

I am surprised to be informed by Your Excellency that "it is well established that the Indian country west of Arkansas is looked to by the incoming administration of Mr. Lincoln as fruitful fields ripe for the harvest of abolitionism, free-soilers, and Northern mountebanks." As I am sure that the laborers will be greatly disappointed if they shall expect in the Cherokee country "fruitful fields ripe for the harvest of abolitionism," & c., you may rest assured that the Cherokee people will never tolerate the propagation of any such obnoxious fruit upon their soil.

And in conclusion I have the honor to reciprocate the salutations of friendship.

I am, sir, very respectfully, Your Excellency's obedient servant,

Jno. Ross
Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation

Park Hill, Cherokee Nation
May 17, 1861

J. R. Kannaday

Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding Fort Smith, Ark.

Sir:

I have had the honor to receive from John B. Luce, esq., your communication of the 15th instant, apprising me that "information had reached Fort Smith to the effect that Senator Lane of Kansas is now in that state raising troops to operate on the western borders of Missouri and Arkansas," and also asking whether "it is your (my) intention to adhere to the United States Government during the pending conflict," or "if you (I) mean to support the Government of the Southern Confederacy;" and also "whether in your (my) opinion the Cherokee people will resist or will aid the Southern troops in resisting any such attempts to invade the soil of Arkansas:" or "if, on the other hand, you (I) think there is any probability of their aiding the United States forces in executing their hostile designs."

In reply to these inquiries I have the honor to say that our rights of soil, of person, and of property, and our relation generally to the people and Government of the United States were defined by treaties with the United States Government prior to the present condition of affairs. By those treaties relations of amity and reciprocal rights and obligation were established between the Cherokee Nation and the Government of those States. Those relations exist. The Cherokees have properly taken no part in the present deplorable state of affairs, but have wisely remained quiet. They have done nothing to impair their rights or disturb the cordial friendship between them and their white brothers. Weak, defenseless, and scattered over a large section of country, in the peaceful pursuits of agricultural life, without hostility to any state and with friendly feelings toward all, they hope to be allowed to remain so, under the solemn conviction that they should not be called upon to participate in the threatened fratricidal war between the "United" and the "Confederate" States, and that persons gallantly tenacious of their own rights will respect those of others. If the pending conflict were with a foreign foe the Cherokees, as they have done in times past, would not hesitate to lend their humble co-operation. But under existing circumstances my wish, advice, and hope are that we shall be allowed to remain strictly neutral. Our interests all center in peace. We do not wish to forfeit our rights or to incur the hostility of any people, and least of all the people of Arkansas, with whom our relations are so numerous and intimate. We do not wish our soil to become the battle ground between the State and our homes to be rendered desolate and miserable by the horrors of a civil war.

If such a war should not be averted yet by some unforseen agency, but shall occur, my own position will be to take no part in it whatever, and to urge the like course upon the Cherokee people, by whom, in my opinion, it will be adopted. We hope that all military movements, whether from the North or the South, will be outside of our limits, and that no apprehension of a want of sincere friendship on our part will be cherished anywhere, and least of all by the people of your state.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

Jno. Ross
Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation

P. S.—I enclose you herewith copies of correspondence between certain gentlemen of Boonesborough, Ark., and myself, for your information.

Very respectfully, yours, &c.,

Jno. Ross
Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation

Some Biographical Notes on the Writers of These Letters

The compiler of these data relating to the period of the Civil War has found that there is no available information at this time, regarding J. R. Kannady other than that he was serving as Lieut. Colonel in command of the southern forces at Fort Smith when he wrote his letter to Chief John Ross of the Cherokee Nation.

Henry M. Rector

Henry Massie Rector, Governor, November 15, 1860-November 4, 1862, sixth Governor of the State of Arkansas, was born in Louisville, Kentucky, May 1, 1816, a son of Elias and Fannie B. (Thurston) Rector. Soon after his birth his parents removed to St. Louis, Missouri, where Elias Rector died in 1822. Subsequently the widow married Stephen Trigg and removed to Saline County, Missouri. Here Mr. Trigg engaged in the manufacture of salt. From the time Henry was thirteen until he was seventeen years of age, it was his task to haul wood with an ox team to the salt works. During this time he had no opportunity to attend school, but his mother, who was an educated woman, taught him the rudiments of an English education.

In 1833 his Kentucky relatives sent him to Francis Goddard's school in Louisville, where he remained as a student for two years and then came to Arkansas to look after certain lands which he, as the only surviving child, had inherited from his father. Some of the land in question was part of what is now the Hot Springs Reservation, which had been located upon a New Madrid certificate. Many years were spent in prosecuting this claim against other persons, and finally against the United States Government, but Rector was unsuccessful in his efforts to establish title to his claim.

During the years 1839 and 1840 Rector held the position of teller in the Bank of the State of Arkansas. In 1841 he moved to a farm in Saline county, where he began the study of law. From 1843 to 1845 he was United States marshal for the District of Arkansas. He was then admitted to the bar and began the practice of his profession in Little

Rock, but soon returned to Saline county. I n 1848 he was elected State Senator for the district composed of Perry and Saline counties; was surveyor general from 1853 to 1857; was elected to the lower house of the Legislature from Pulaski county in 1854; and in 1859 was elected Associate Justice of the Supreme Court by the General Assembly.

In 1860 he resigned his position on the Supreme Bench to become an independent Democratic candidate for Governor. What was known at that time as the "Conway-Johnson Dynasty" was thought to be all-powerful in Arkansas politics.

Rector, however, was a forcible and convincing orator. By his persuasive eloquence and his appeal to the common sense of the voters, he overthrew the "Dynasty" and was elected by over two thousand majority.

There was then a paper called *The Independent* published at Fayetteville by William Quesenbury-popularly known as "Bill Cush"—who was a clever cartoonist. Immediately after the election he published a cartoon entitled, "Tom, Dick and Harry" in which Judge Thomas Hubbard, the Whig Candidate, was represented as Old Mother Hubbard examing a bare cupboard; "Dick" Johnson seated astride a whiskey barrel, surrounded by a crowd of his supporters to whom he was explaining how it all happened; while "Harry" Rector, represented as a rooster, was strutting about making the welkin ring with his crowing.

Professor Shinn, in his *Pioneers and Makers of Arksas* says:

> The regular Democrats, smarting under their defeat, took an undue advantage of him in the convention of 1861. That body, while providing for a new constitution which contained certain offices in force, intentionally or unintentionally omitted to make any provision whatever for the governor's office. Rector's adherents have always claimed that this was done intentionally and from the meager records which have come down to posterity, it is entirely safe to say that this contention of Rector's friends was true. At all events, it was claimed that, as the State Constitution did not provide for the continuance of the Governor, a vacancy existed, which contention was upheld by the Supreme Court. He served as Governor from November 15, 1860, until Nov. 4, 1862.

Upon retiring from the Governor's office, Mr. Rector enlisted as a private in the Confederate Reserve Corps (refusing an appointment as quartermaster) and served until the close of the war. For several years after the war he was engaged in agricultural pursuits in Garland county. He was delegate from that county to the constitutional convention of 1874 and wielded a powerful influence in framing the new organic law of Arkansas.

Governor Rector was twice married. His first wife, to whom he was united in October, 1838, was Miss Jane Elizabeth Field, daughter of William Field of Little Rock. She died on November 20, 1857, leaving four sons and three daughters, and in 1860 he married Miss Ernestine Flora Linde, daughter of *Albert Linde,* of Memphis, Tennessee.[2]

Henry Massie Rector died at his home in Little Rock, Arkansas, on August 12, 1899. He was buried in Mount Holly Cemetery at Little Rock, beside the grave of his second son, Lieutenant William F. Rector, who was killed in the assault on Graveyard Hill in the Battle of Helena, Arkansas, July 4, 1863.

Chief John Ross of the Cherokee Nation

The life of John Ross from early manhood until death in 1866 is so entwined with that of his people, the Cherokees, that no realistic sketch of Ross can be written without reference to the history of the Cherokee Nation, during the period of his lifetime.

John Ross, the son of a Scottish immigrant and his Cherokee wife (one-fourth Cherokee by blood) was born at Rossville, Georgia, on October 3, 1790. He had been well instructed by private tutors in his boyhood, and later attended Kingston Academy in Tennessee. He was married twice, first to Quatie, a full blood Cherokee who died at Little Rock, Arkansas, during the removal of the Cherokees from Georgia to the Indian Territory (1838-1839). Chief Ross' second wife, was a Quakeress, Mary B. Stapler of an old Philadelphia family.

When John Ross returned home from Kingston Academy he learned that the land left the Cherokees by the Treaty of Holston (1808), in Tennessee was inadequate and not suitable for cultivation. He was a shrewd and practical politician as well as a good business man. During the years 1808 to 1810, he saw service with the Federal Government when a large number of Cherokees moved west under treaty provisions to an area on the Arkansas River, in the vicinity of Fort Clark which had been established as an agency for them. (This is in the general area of Morrilton and Dardanelle, Arkansas.) A band of Cherokees had moved west to this region before 1800, and when they were later joined here by their fellow tribesmen, they became known as the Arkansas Cherokee, or Western Cherokee.

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[2] Reference: Herndon's *Outline of Executive and Legislative History of Arkansas.*

John Ross was one of the leaders in drafting the constitution for the Cherokee government with its capital at New Echota in Georgia. A year later (1828) he was chosen principal chief of the Nation, a position to which he was elected term after term in the Indian Territory, until the end of his life. He was a well known figure in the United States of his day, and he is remembered as one of the great leaders of the Cherokees in history.

The Cherokees in Arkansas finally induced by U. S. Government commissioners to sign a new treaty in 1828, providing for their emigration from Arkansas and settlement on land along the Arkansas River in what is now Northeastern Oklahoma. Here they were deeded a seven million acre tract and further assigned a great acre tract extending west that became known in history as the "Cherokee Outlet" (present Northern Oklahoma). The Treaty provided that the Cherokees east could join them in this new western country. The Nation now was literally divided geographically.

The great majority of the Cherokees still lived in Georgia and Tennessee. It was not long before white frontiersmen were pushing to live in this Cherokee country, especially after gold was discovered in the region. Finally, pressure was brought to bear by the State authorities backed by President Andrew Jackson to move all the Cherokees west. A treaty was signed on December 29, 1835, at New Echota by Cherokees of the so-called Treaty Party without the approval of Chief Ross and a large majority of the eastern group. The Treaty Party was headed by Major Ridge, his son John Ridge, and his two nephews, Elias Boudinot and Stand Watie, and was largely composed of mixed-blood Cherokees who believed that it would best serve the interests of their Nation to sell the Georgia and other eastern lands though at a fraction of their worth and move west to the Indian Territory. Chief Ross and his followers, mostly fullbloods were bitterly opposed to the terms of the New Echota Treaty. This opposition cost Ross dearly for he was kidnaped by the Georgia Guard, and was thrown into prison together with John Howard Payne, the author of "Home, Sweet Home," who was with Ross at the time.[3]

Unfortunately for the leaders of the Treaty Party, who had acted as they believed in the best interest of their Nation, the way in which the last of the Cherokees were

[3] An account of this trouble is found in the reprint of *John Howard Payne and His Countrymen*, edited by Clemens de Baillou (University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1961).

forced out of their homes in Georgia to travel in the midst of suffering and death along wilderness roads to the West —each road now referred to in history as "the Trail of Tears"—widened the breach between the two factions in the Cherokee Nation.

Chief Ross and many others in the Nation prospered after the removal, with plantations and cattle raising on the fine lands of the Arkansas River region in what is now Oklahoma. Ross operated a large plantation with his many Negro slaves, and built a beautiful and spacious home which he called "Rose Cottage" located near Park Hill. Notwithstanding their prosperous condition, the breach between the two Cherokee fractions continued and widened through the years. When the War Between the States began Stand Watie and his followers, mostly mixed-bloods, embraced the cause of the Confederate States while John Ross and the great majority of the fullbloods held out for a neutral stand in the great conflict between the North and the South. Ross prepared to defend his position, and organized a Cherokee regiment under the command of John Drew, in the early summer of 1861, with the consent of the Cherokee Council to serve as a guard along the Cherokee line bordering Kansas.

Governor Rector, Lieutenant Colonel Kannady, General Ben McCulloch[4] and finally Albert Pike continued to urge Chief Ross to abandon his neutral position, and sign up a treaty with the Confederate States, offering the Cherokee Nation many inducements. Believing that the Cherokees would lose the $5,000,000 owing them (mostly invested in state bonds) by the Federal Government, Ross maintained neutrality until after the Confederate victories at the First Battle at Manasses (Bull Run) and the Battle of Wilson Creek in 1861. He was now within the control of the Confederate States that apparently were winning the War. Ross now thought it to the best interest of his people to sign a treaty with the South. He assembled the Cherokee Council, and with its consent a treaty was signed with Albert Pike on October 7, 1861, uniting the Cherokee Nation with the Confederate States. The next spring—March, 1862—both Drew's Cherokee Regiment and Stand Watie's Mounted Troops fought under General Albert Pike at the Battle of Pea Ridge. Drew's men left the field and returned home after the death of Generals McCulloch, McIntosh and Slack, while Watie's forces remained and fought to the end of that disastrous battle for the South.

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[4] See Judge Harry J. Lemley's article, "Historic Letters of General Ben McCulloch and Chief John Ross in the Civil War," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XL, No. 2 (Summer, 1962), pp. 286-294.

After the defeat of the Confederates at Locust Grove in July, 1862, detachments of Federal troops went on to Fort Gibson and Tahlequah, and Chief Ross was arrested the military officer in command, at his home near Park Hill. He was soon paroled but went north with the Federal forces to Kansas. He visited President Lincoln at Washington, and moved to Philadelphia where, it is said, he maintained the Cherokee government in exile. Stand Watie was elected Principal Chief of the Southern Cherokees. He continued to fight throughout the War, and was commissioned Brigadier General in the Confederate States Army in 1864.

Stand Watie was the last general officer of the Confederate Army to resign when he surrendered his Cherokee command at Doaksville, Choctaw Nation, on June 23, 1865. John Ross returned to the Indian Territory that summer, and was re-elected principal chief of the Cherokee Nation. A year later (1866), he died at Washington during the negotiations for a new treaty demanded by the Federal Government, his last efforts expended in the defense of the rights of and welfare of the Cherokee people.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Members of Boy Scout Troop 13 of Ada, Oklahoma, Have Won Their "Trail Awards"

Members of Boy Scout Troop 13 of Ada have completed a three-year program for their "Trail Awards" and achieved outstanding field research that has pointed up the study of the actual route of the "Texas Cattle Trail," carried on in the Editorial Office of the Oklahoma Historical Society for a number of years.

The "Texas Cattle Trail" is shown on post-Civil War maps of Indian Territory, particularly U.S. Map of 1876 (Interior Dept., General Land Office). The evidences of this old Trail are seen from the crossing of the main Canadian River below the mouth of Little River in present Hughes County, and southwest and south through present Pontotoc, Johnston and Bryan counties to the mouth of the Washita on Red River. The Trail was originally the "Big Osage Hunting Trail" from Claremore Mound (1802) up the Arkansas to a crossing a few miles below the mouth of the Cimarron (once called the Red Fork River), thence south on the east side of the "Cross Timbers" through present Tulsa, Creek, Okfuskee and Hughes counties to the crossing of the Canadian and thence southwest and south as given above. This same "Big Osage Hunting Trail" from the crossing of the Canadian to the mouth of the Washita was traveled by the famous Dragoon Expedition under the command of General Henry Leavenworth, out of Fort Gibson in 1834, and is indeed noted in the history of Oklahoma.

Boy Scout Troop 13 is sponsored by the First Methodist Church of Ada, Pontotoc, County, under the direction of Scoutmaster Bill Tinsley and Assistant Scoutmasters, W. O. Kirby and Harrell Crawford. The evidences of the old Trail north and east of Ada were found in many places and some of the outstanding historic sites visited by the Boy Scouts, particularly the region of "Buffalo Valley" pointed out personally to them by Judge Orel Busby of Ada. Judge Busby's fine account of beautiful "Buffalo Valley" was published in *The Chronicles* for Spring, 1962 (Vol. XL).

From Ada south to the Pontotoc-Johnston County line, the Boy Scouts truly pioneered the search and discovery of

the evidences and ruts of this old Texas Trail, under the direction of Scoutmaster Tinsley who consulted with the Editor in regard to her studies for a number of years, of the route on U.S. topographical maps as well as her field trips on the highways and country roads in Pontotoc and Johnston counties. Important historic sites and the route of the "Texas Trail" now have been determined in this region, including the beautiful "Canyon Spring" best known and now temporarily marked as "Dead Man's Spring," a few miles southwest of Jesse in Pontotoc County. This spring is reported the site of one of the old-time Chickasaw court house grounds in old Pontotoc County, Chickasaw nation (original county organized in 1856). The Editor is particularly gratified that her own studies of the Texas Cattle Trail (route of the Dragoon Regiment) marked on maps were corrobrated by the findings of the Boy Scouts of Troop 13 under the direction of their Scoutmasters. She had the pleasure and the experience of walking along evidences of this Trail and visiting historic sites that she had long sought, one day in September (1964) with Mr. and Mrs. Tinsley and Mr. Bob Wallace. The Editor has in preparation a manuscript on the interesting history of this old "Texas Trail" for *The Chronicles*, on which the Boy Scouts of Troop 13 and their dedicated Scoutmasters have contributed and gathered valuable data.

(MHW)

New Hope Baptist Mission, Cherokee Nation 1832

A letter dated September 19, 1964, from the Reverend H. D. Ragland, Minister of the First Methodist Church of Cherokee, Oklahoma is accompanied by his notes on the site of New Hope Baptist Mission old Cherokee Nation. His letter is accompanied by a plat of the area showing the site of this early Mission and the location of the grave of Reverend Duncan O'Bryant its founder. *The Chronicles* presents the notes by Mr. Ragland who is a former contributor to the magazine, of articles on early missions in Oklahoma and researcher on the location of historic sites in this region.

Mr. Ragland asks in his letter to the Editor: "Which, in your opinion, is the oldest Baptist Mission in Oklahoma? Was it New Hope or Ebenezer mission or church established among the Creeks?" (Parenthetically, it should be pointed out to avoid confusion among those interested in early mission history that this "New Hope Baptist Mission" is not the same institution as the noted "New Hope Academy"

[sometimes referred to as "New Hope Mission"] operated by the Methodist missionaries near old Skullyville in the Choctaw Nation, which was established by the Choctaw General Council as a "Seminary" for Choctaw girls in 1842.)

The Editor here gives historical notes in reply to Mr. Ragland's questions: New Hope Mission among the Cherokees was established by the Reverend Duncan O'Bryant soon after his arrival in May, 1832, at a site near the Barren Fork River in the Cherokee Nation, about two miles west of the Arkansas boundary.

The Baptist General Convention had appointed the Reverend Humphrey Posey as missionary to the Cherokees in 1817. He commenced the well known Valley Towns Baptist Mission in 1820, on the Hiwassee River within the western boundary of North Carolina. In 1821, a mission station consisting of a school house and a dwelling house was in operation by Mr. and Mrs. Duncan O'Bryant at Tinswattee, some sixty miles southeast of Valley Towns Mission. Tinswattee was a day school which had 65 pupils in attendance in 1823—40 pupils regularly. [1]

Mr. and Mrs. O'Bryant with the consent of the Board of the General Convention left the Baptist Church work at Tinsawattee in 1830 and came west with some eighty Cherokee families from Georgia. They arrived in the Indian Territory in 1831, and were quick and industrious in providing comfortable living quarters in their new location. Mr. O'Bryant held church in his own log dwelling on Sunday before it was finished, with fifteen members of the Baptist mission work back in Georgia among those in attendance. A church building was completed before the end of 1832, and school was opened here with 20 pupils. In the meantime, a gristmill and sawmill were opened about one-half mile southwest of the church, on Barren Fork River, a fine spring-fed stream.

The Board of Managers of the Baptist General Convention in its meeting on May 6, 1820, appointed the Reverend Francis Flourney of Georgia to establish a mission among the Creek people. This mission was undertaken by the Georgia, Ocmulgee and Ebenezer Associations. These three Associations in their meeting in 1822 appointed the Reverend Lee Compere of the Charleston Association (South Carolina) as a missionary to the Creeks. He began a

[1]These notes are based on the Editor's previous research from several sources, including, Solomon Peck, *History of the Missions of the Baptist General Convention*, in the volume on American Missions published by Spooner & Howland (Worcester, 1840).

mission station at the Creek tribal "town" or community of Tukabatchi on the Chatahoochee River in Alabama, and reported within four years that his school had twenty-seven pupils, among them John Davis, one of his oldest pupils employed as his interpreter—"an intelligent and sober-minded youth."

John Davis was converted to the Baptist ministry, and was appointed missionary in 1830, to that portion of the Creeks who had moved to the Indian Territory, living in settlements mostly within the limits of present Wagoner County, Oklahoma, north of the Arkansas River. He did not organize a church but preached regularly at four different places, taught school three days a week, and visited and talked with the people in their homes for three years.

Mr. David Lewis, ordained in New York as a missionary to the Creeks in May, 1833, came west to the Indian Territory and joined John Davis. The missionaries united their plans, and on September 9, 1833, formed a church under the name of the "Muscogee Baptist Church." Before the end of the year, there were some sixty members of this church, among them the daughter of the noted "Gen. McIntosh." There were 74 pupils in the Sunday school, with a congregation of 300 usually in attendance at church. A meeting house, also used for the school, and other buildings were erected in 1833, and the mission station was named "Ebenezer." This station was located 3 miles north of the Arkansas River and 15 miles west of Fort Gibson, in the vicinity of present Tallahassee in Wagoner County.

Mr. H. D. Ragland's notes follow here:

LOCATION OF NEW HOPE BAPTIST MISSION

On October 10, 1955 the writer made a trip to the area of northeastern Adair county for the purpose of locating the site of New Hope Baptist Mission which was established among the Cherokee Indians in 1832. The following interviews were taken of early settlers in the neighborhood:[2]

Alexander D. Wright who lived at Barren, Oklahoma accompanied me to the mission site and helped secure some of the information. He said that his father was Jesse V. Wright and his mother was Frances Wright (same name but not related). His grandfather on his father's side was Eli Wright and his grandfather on his mother's side was Cornelius Wright who married one of Rev. Duncan O'Bryant's daughters. He reported:

"I was born May 28, 1878 on my father's allotment [in NE 32, 17N, 26E]. The place was once in the possession of Eli Wright who

[2]This trip was made as the result of a request of Muriel H. Wright, Editor of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, in a letter dated January 19,1955.

owned an old mill on Barren Fork Creek just below where Evansville Creek runs into the same [31, 17N, 26E]. He secured the mill, I believe, from a person by the name of Beck who later operated a mill at Flint.

"On Barren Fork Creek, near the mouth of Evansville Creek, was a famous Baptist camp grounds. Religious services were held there in my lifetime.

"The old mill on Barren Fork Creek was abandoned in the 1890's. The buildings were torn down and the material was used in the construction of a little Baptist Church which stood upon the side of a hill near the old chimney place about one fourth mile northeast of the mill site. After the church was discontinued, the building was used for a barn.

"My brother and I visited the old court house located [in SE 18, 17N, 25E] near Christie, in the early day. It was a little log building but not in use. There were a number of bullet holes in the logs which were made at the time of the Proctor affair. The new courthouse was located north of Strawberry Springs at a place called Going Snake Post Office. I have been there [SW 33, 18N, 25E]."

Eli C. Wright, a brother of Alexander, lived on the Jesse V. Wright place. He was born March 11, 1880. He gave this information:

"I own a place in Section 5, 16N, 26E. I have heard early settlers say that there was an Indian village just south of my place. There are a number of graves still visible. The remains of a number of buildings were visible a number of years ago. This village site was about two tens south of my place."

Julius K. Adair, son of Virgil B. Adair, lived on the old Virgel B. Adair allotment situated in 10, 16N, 26E. He was born in 1881 at the present home. The house he lived in was built by Cornelius Wright in 1858. The frame material used in its construction was sawed at a mill on Pigeon Branch located about one and one half mile south of the house. He gave the following:

"I attended the old Piney School located at a site about a quarter of a mile north of the Frank Adair place. This school was housed in a little building, part frame and part log, built possibly in the 1870's

"I have heard my father say that the mission of Duncan O'Bryant was located about 150 yards from the home of Lee Akins."

Lee Akins was born in 1889 near the old mission site. He stated:

"I have heard the early settlers say that part of the old Frank Adair house was built by Rev. Duncan O'Bryant. The chimneys are made of brick which is rare for this section of the country, especially in old buildings.

"I attended the old Piney School located near the mission site when only a child. At that time, there were two large piles of rocks back of the school house where we played during recess. We called the rock piles the old mission. They were the remains of the chimneys of the old buildings.

"When I was a little boy, Caleb Wright lived in the old Frank Adair house. Aunt Nancy Collins, his mother-in-law, lived with him.[3]

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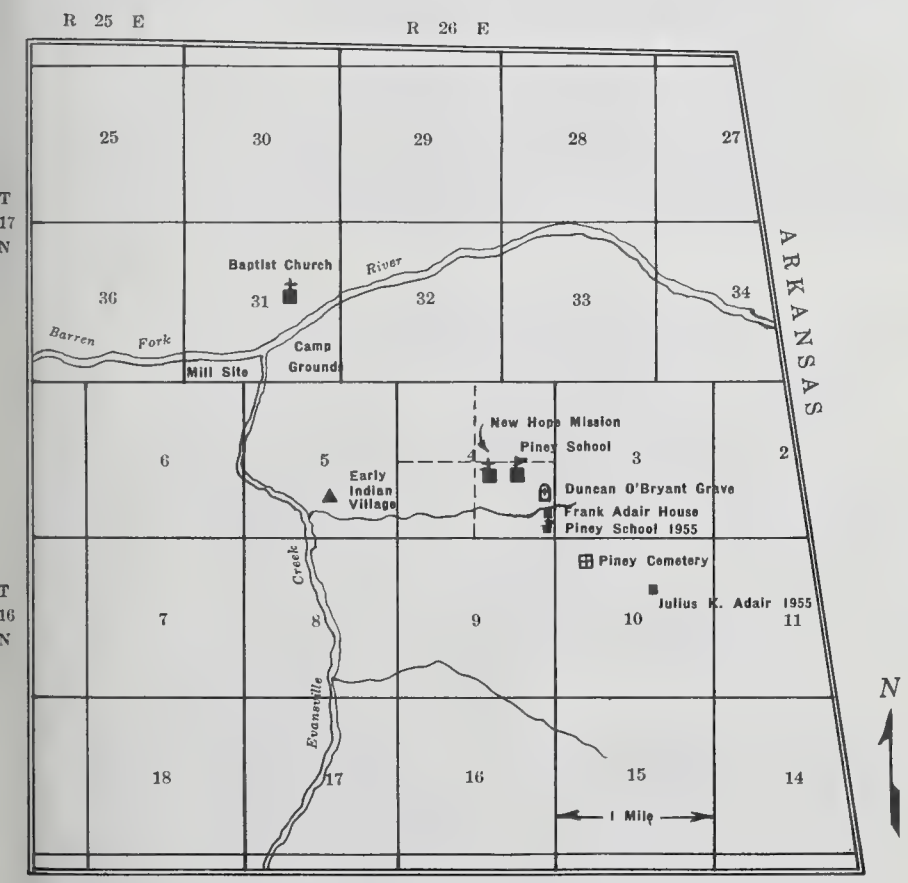
[3]Nannie Angeline Cordery, daughter of Early and Charlottee (Berryhill) Cordery, married Joseph Collins and had a daughter, Ruth Ann who married Caleb Powell Wright. —Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokees,* pp. 392, 398).



Plat showing site of New Hope Baptist Mission, 1832, and other historic sites in the old Cherokee Nation near the Barren Fork River, in present Adair County, Oklahoma.

Site of New Hope Baptist Mission, Cherokee Nation

We used to visit them often and hear Aunt Nancy tell of the early days. She said she lived in the Adair house during the Civil War. The old mission building was standing at the time but not in use. It was a large building with chimneys at each end and stood on the hill just northwest of the Adair place. She said that during the war, the Pins often camped in the mission building. She had seen the light of fires in the chimneys many times. During the latter part of the war the woods caught fire and the building burned."

A few hundred yards north of the Adair house is the grave of Rev. O'Bryant. The tombstone was still there but not erect. The inscription on it read:

DUNCAN O'BRYANT
Died Aug. 1834
Aged about 59 years
Missionary Baptist Preacher

The site of the New Hope Mission, according to these interviews is in the northwest corner of the southeast Quarter of Section 4, Township 16 North, Range 26 E. of the Indian Meridian.

H. D. Ragland

1964 Annual Tour
Oklahoma Historical Society

The Annual Tour of the Historical Society—June 11, 12 and 13, 1964—was entirely supervised by the Administrative Secretary, Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, this year, and has been reported an enjoyable and successful trip from the time the three bus-loads of tourists left the Historical Building at 7:00 a.m. on Thursday, June 11. Professor LeRoy H. Fischer of the History Department, Oklahoma State University at Stillwater, and Dr. Fred Floyd of the History Department, Nazarene College at Bethany, along with Mr. Fraker gave interesting notes and talks on history enroute. Mrs. Nola Rigdon, the popular and well known citizen of Cresent, Oklahoma, who has accompanied every Annual Tour since the early 1950's has sent in by request of the Editor some personal notes about incidents and the "Stops" visited as the buses circled north from Oklahoma City, westwardly through the Cherokee Strip (northern counties of the state) and then south visiting historic places in some counties of Western Oklahoma, arriving back at the Historical Building at 5:30 p.m. the following Saturday.

Guthrie was the first stop Thursday morning. The tourists gathered at the site of the old City Hall where the State Constitutional Convention met in November, 1906 through the spring of 1907. Here Dr. Fischer gave an excellent, brief talk on the history of Guthrie as the former Oklahoma territorial capitol and first capital of the State (1907-1910). Mrs. Rigdon was the only person present in the crowd who had attended a session of the Constitutional

Convention here when she came with her class in civics as a student in Noble County High School. The first Oklahoma State capitol at Guthrie, now a part of the Masonic Temple with many beautiful rooms, was also visited.

Other stops during the morning included the remains of the one-time Mulhall Ranch. The site was pointed out of the one-time famous "101 Ranch" where the Miller Brothers operated their wide farm and ranch business in early Oklahoma days, which was the base where they organized their fabulous "101 Wild West Show" that toured the world. A stop was made at "Cowboy Hill" (located on the south bank of the Salt Fork River near U.S. Highway 77), a memorial plot presented to the care of the Oklahoma Historical Society by the old Cherokee Strip Cow Punchers Association where are the graves of Zack Miller, one of the Miller Brothers, and of Jack Webb, a one-time "trick shot" with the "101 Ranch Show."

The Ponca City "Pioneer Woman Museum" was visited at noon. The Continental Oil Company plant was toured after luncheon, and Vice President Bosworth of the Company gave a talk with an imposing array of figures of Conoco's far flung business enterprise.

The buses then traveled southwest into Noble County and to the home of Governor Henry Bellmon near Billings, during a short visit receiving a warm welcome by the Governor's relatives and young friends. The night was spent at Enid. The speaker at the evening dinner was President George H. Shirk of the Historical Society, on the subject "The importance of the Cherokee Strip in the settlement of Oklahoma."

Friday morning time was spent watching the operation of grain elevators at some of the world's largest flour mills at Enid. Mrs. Rigdon comments in her notes that this is "an old story to her in Oklahoma" but the visiting tourists were fascinated watching the emptying of carloads of wheat—2,000 bushels of grain dumped by great trucks in five minutes.

The highlight of the day, was the visit to the old sod house standing in Alfalfa County—the world's only original sod house remaining out of the hundreds of thousands of this type of pioneer dwelling that dotted the Southern Plains region in America. The Oklahoma Historical Society now owns this rare relic in history. The sod house stands on the quarter section claim staked by Marshall McCully who made the "run" into the Cherokee Strip on September 16, 1893. He built the two-room sod house in the summer of 1894, and it remained his family home until 1909 when

he erected a two-story frame dwelling in the yard just west of it. The two-story house and a huge elm tree in the yard have protected the old sod house, and now the Oklahoma Historical Society is arranging for its perpetual care and preservation.

Lunch was served at Alva, County Seat of Woods County and the home city of Oklahoma's Northwestern State College. The buses rolled west through the County to Freedom, crossed the Cimarron River bridge on State Highway 50 into Woodward County, and east of this highway visited the Alabaster Cavern State Park. A long walk was made through the interesting cavern which someday may be one of Oklahoma's main featured attractions. Mrs. Rigdon specially notes the pleasure in seeing Boiling Springs State Park near Woodward. Friday night was spent at Woodward. This City was once "home town" of Temple Houston, known as a lawyer with talent as an orator, who made the "run" at the opening of the Cherokee Strip in 1893. He was the son of the noted Sam Houston, pre-Civil War governor of Texas, who had a place in the early history of the Cherokees in Oklahoma.

Early travel on Saturday morning was southwest from Woodward via State Highway 15 to Gage where the U.S. Weather Station was visited. Travel continued south into Ellis County, the west line of which is the noted 100th Meridian, West Longitude, the western boundary of Oklahoma from the south line of the Panhandle, extending on south to Red River.

The next stop about five and a half miles southwest of Arnett, Ellis County, was at the "ghost town" site of old Grand, the County Seat of old Day County which was first designated as County "E" at the opening of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Country to white settlement, by "run" on April 19, 1892. The water supply at Ioland, the first County Seat was very bad—hard and "gypy." The frame court house here was burned to the ground from unknown causes on the night of November 18, 1893, and the next day, the County Seat was established at Grand more than fifteen miles west of Ioland. Day County was prominent in Territorial affairs until it was named Ellis County in the State Constitution in 1907, with part of the old county incorporated in present Roger Mills County. The site of old Grand with its fine spring is today the annual meeting place of the Old Settlers Association of the region which delayed its annual picnic this year to meet the Annual Tour of the Historical Society on Saturday, June 13. Mrs. Rigdon expresses her pleasure with this meeting, and says that she

"would have liked to have spent the day there visiting with those old timers."

It was a long drive from old Grand to Southard in the northern part of Blaine County. The buses arrived two hours late to find there could be no visit to the Southard gypsum mines which were closed for the noon hour.

Luncheon was served after traveling on to Roman Nose State Park north of Watonga, in Blaine County. Here Dr. Fred Floyd gave an interesting talk on the coming of the railroads to Western Oklahoma, especially that built in old Day County. Mrs. Rigdon expresses her pleasure that young Curtin, son of "Cowboy" Curtin of Watonga is in a very good, group picture that she took at the Park after luncheon.

Rains had made it impossible to visit the grave of Jesse Chisholm near the North Canadian River in Blaine County, so only a short stop was made at the roadside, Historical Marker for "Jesse Chisholm" at Greenfield on U.S. Highway 281 (& 270), the marker indicating the grave site about 5 or 6 miles east.

The buses traveled on to the old Darlington Agency established about two miles north of present El Reno, for the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians in 1870, by the Quaker Agent, Brinton Darlington. This place is the location of the State Game Farm, only one of the old agency buildings left standing here.

The three buses arrived Saturday afternoon at the Historical Building on the scheduled time shown in the 1964 "Annual Tour" leaflet with its fine copies of old photos, which had been prepared by Mr. Fraker and given the tourists as a momento of the good trip that they had this year to some of the historic sites and natural feature attractions in Western Oklahoma.

FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN KAY COUNTY

The first school in Kay County was the Kaw Indian Boarding school opened in 1874 at a site on Beaver Creek near the Kaw Agency near Washunga. The Kaw (or Kansa) tribe had purchased 100,000 acres in the northwestern corner of the Osage Reservation (Indian Territory), and had moved from Kansas to their new home in June, 1873. When the Cherokee Outlet was opened to white settlement on September 16, 1893, the region along the border of Kansas included in present Kay County was

designated as "County K" by the Presidential Proclamation of August 19, 1893, opening the "Outlet" to white settlement by a "run" for land claims. The Kaw tribal members had taken allotments of land in severalty (405 acres) by agreement with the United States in 1902, and the former Kaw reservation area was attached to Kay County, Oklahoma Territory, by a Congressional Act of 1904.

Mr. Clarence S. Bassler, active member of the Payne County Historical Society, has contributed a brief account of the building of the first schoolhouse in 1894 as a public school in Kay County. Mr. Bassler is the last survivor of persons mentioned in the "Report" accompanying his account which follows:

FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN KAY COUNTY

When the Cherokee Outlet was opened to settlement on September 16, 1893, there was one of the greatest scrambles for homes that has ever been seen. Families were brought together from all parts of the country in hope of getting a new start in life, and there were children to be educated.

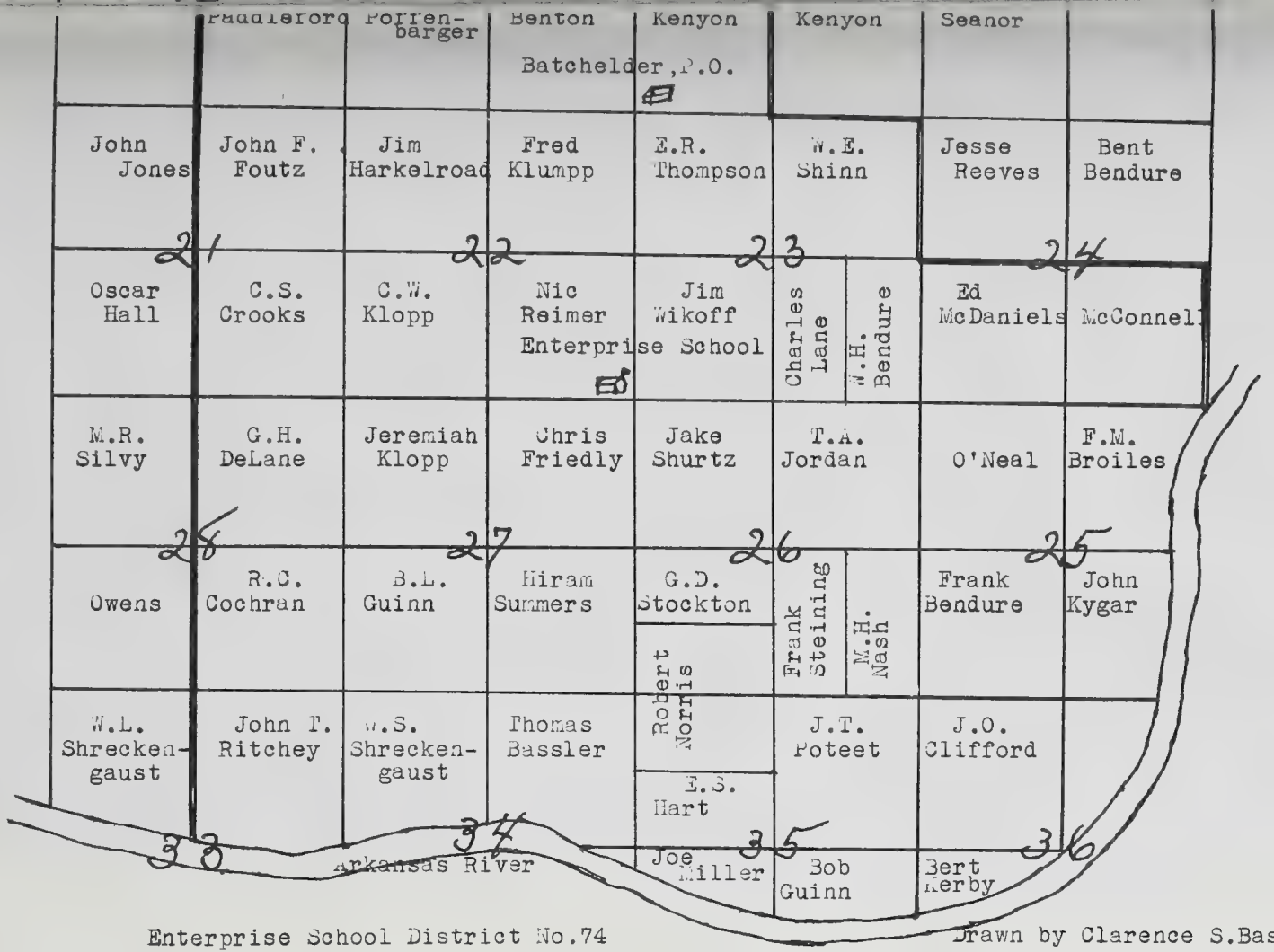
The first schoolhouse in Kay County was about 8 by 10 feet in size, and was erected in 1894 at Enterprise, six miles east of Ponca City. It was on the highest point of District 74, two miles west of the Godance Soldani ranch, and two miles north of the Sylvester Soldani ranch. The ranches were across the Arkansas River in the Osage Nation.

Some of the fathers in the district met in the dugout of Jim Harkelroad and and decided who would be board members and where the schoolhouse would be, and then went to work to build it. The floor was dug about two feet below the surface of the ground and then sod was ploughed and laid up like a stone wall. There were four half-windows set in the north, south and west sides and a wide homemade door in the east. Poles were laid across the top and then wide boards bent over the poles, and these were covered with tarred paper. A few benches were provided.

The first teacher was Annie Poffenbarger who had just finished the 8th grade in Cowley County, Kansas. Some of the folks thought Annie could teach the school, so she went to Kildare, and the county superintendent, Prof. Sullen, gave her an examination. She received a third grade certificate. She had about fifteen pupils.

School began on March 4, 1894, and was for three months. The salary was $25.00 per month, payable in script. That summer Annie went to normal school, and at the close did not receive a certificate because she, like several others, was too young. A teacher must be 18 years old and she was only 16.

The first schoolhouse was too small, so the men of the district in the summer of 1894 built another sod house, but above ground. It had regular sized windows, and a shingle roof with good desks. This was the first school that I attended. The building lasted about three years, until the walls had settled enough that there was danger of the wind blowing them in on the pupils. Ella Galvin taught the school three years.



Plat of Enterprise School District No. 74, prior to 1903 in Old Kay County.

Enterprise School District No.74
Prior to 1903

Drawn by Clarence S.Bassler

A cry went up that the district must have a good frame building. The patrons formed a special committee to raise money by subscription, because the district had no money with which to build. W. S. Shreckengaust was president of the committee, and Thomas Bassler was secretary. Annie Stewart was the first teacher in the new building.

Following is the report of the builders of the Enterprise schoolhouse, as written by the secretary:

Batchelder, O. T.[1]
December 18, 1897

At a special meeting of the people of school district No. 74 held at the school house, this evening, it was decided by motion, that owing to the strained relations existing between the building committee and the school board that in order to maintain friendly relations the school building committtee give up possession of the building; consequently their report was accepted and the committee discharged.

Report

Batchelder, O. T. July 3, 1897

At a meeting of the patrons of District No. 74 held this day—it was resolved to build a school house by popular subscription, a committee consisting of W. S. Shreckengaust, President, Thomas Bassler, Secretary and W. E. Shinn, Treasurer, were appointed to solicit subscriptions and build the house. The house is to be built of pine 24 feet by 36 feet by 10 feet.

If sufficient subscriptions are not received the amount collected was to be returned to the donors. In accordance with the above the following persons subscribed the amounts set opposite their names, said amounts to be paid by the 15th of August, 1897.

W. S. Shreckengaust	$15.00	W. E. Sturdevant	$10.00
T. A. Jordan	10.00	J. L. Benton	5.00
T. A. Paddleford	10.00	Charles Lane	10.00
J. H. Ritchey	10.00	W. S. Kenyon	$10.00
W. E. Shinn	10.00	J. B. Kygar	10.00
W. L. Shreckengaust	2.50	F. M. Broiles	10.00
Charles Crooks	10.00	Guy H. DeLane	10.00
J. T. Poteet	15.00	J. O. Clifford	5.00
H. F. Gopport	10.00	Thomas Bassler	10.00
B. L. Guinn	10.00		

August 15, a meeting was held—and discussions as to proposed house freely indulged in—it was decided to make the house 22 feet wide instead of 24 as it would be more economical in the seating arrangement. The parties pledging paid either in money or pledges excepting J. H. Ritchey $10.00 and W. E. Sturdevant $10.00 both of whom failed to pay anything. The committee secured additional pledges as follows: Bert Bendure $5.00, M. H. Nash $5.00, H. Summers $5.00, Jake Shurtz $10.00, Gus Poffenbarger $8.00, Gilbert Stockton $2.50, Robert Norris, $5.00, E. R. Thompson 10.00, Nic Reimer $10.00, Mr. [Jeremiah] Klopp $5.00, Cal Klopp $5.00, Mr. [W. H.] Bendure $5.00, all of which was subsequently paid.

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1 The village of Bachelder is shown on early maps of Kay County, O. T., about six miles northeast of Ponca City.

The committee appointed a day for the purpose of laying the foundation—prior to which time T. A. Jordan hauled out the lime for use and Frank Steining hauled sand. On the appointed day E. R. Thompson, Taylor Poteet, Cal Klopp, Thomas Bassler, W. S. Shreckengaust, Hi Summers, Gilbert Stockton, Frank Steining reported for work—quarrying rock, trenching, hauling rock and water and laying foundation were the order of the day. The next day a few of the faithful on hand with the addition of Tom Paddleford and Floyd Summers and W. S. Kenyon. The next day all played out but Thomas Bassler who finished what mortar was left and quit. The following day, Saturday, the different neighbors hauled the lumber from Ponca. The following week the foundations were finished for the builders. Shreckengaust, Kenyon, Poteet, and others doing the work. To whom thanks are due for said donation.

Bids had been advertised for in the *Ponca City Courier*, and were answered by W. E. Sturdevant, Keck and Collingsworth, and St. Clair and Short. After due consideration the bid of St. Clair and Short was found to be the most acceptable, and consequently the contract was let to them, they having placed a certified check for $50.00 with the committee to secure the fulfillment of contract.

The committee gave notice of a supper and dance to be held in the school house on the evening of October 26th. The ladies responded heartily to the request for donations resulting in plenty for all. The supper and dance netted the sum of $43.15 besides giving all an enjoyable time. A special meeting was called for the 13th, of November at which time the $10.00 received from the sale of the old school house was donated to the use of the committee. There not being mony enough to meet all the expenses, an additional contribution was solicited resulting as follows:—W. S. Shreckengaust $1.00, Charles Crooks $1.00, Herman Goppert $1.00, Jake Shurtz $1.00, Cal Klopp $2.00, Nic Reimer $1.00, T. A. Jordan 1.00, H. Summers $2.00, Thomas Bassler $1.00, M. H. Nash $1.00, M. A. Barnes $1.00, J. W. Willard $1.00. This proving sufficient the committee ordered the flue built and the building plastered and finished.

Charles Lane, Jake Shurtz, Ed Shinn, and Clarence Bassler hauled the sand and water for the plasterers. The building was finished and ready for occupancy by the first of November on which date school began.

The committee met the contractors at Ponca City on the 30th day of October and settled in full, giving their individual note for $13.50 to the Foster Lumber Co. and received a receipt in full for labor and material from St. Clair and Short, the contractors.

Saturday the 20th of November was the day for leveling the grounds, planting posts, etc. On this day no one responded but Charles Lane, wife and son, Mrs. [W. H.] Bendure, J. T. Ritchey and J. O. Clifford. For smallness of numbers and the amount of work performed, this small band deserves the greatest of praise. The committee desires at this point to enlarge on the help given by Charles Lane at all times and to thus publicly thank him for so doing. In conclusion the committee desires to thank all who have given so generously both of time and money to the building of so commodious a house. While the committee feel proud of their accomplishment, their pleasure is marred by the little disagreements that may have arisen from time to time and hope that time will erase these and that we may become one people in the general good of the whole neighborhood.

Recapitulation

Total amount collected		$305.15
Expense—Building proper	$237.50	
Plastering	45.00	
Lime and Locks	4.00	
Sheathing	7.00	
Flue	7.00	
Returning lumber	.50	
Lumber for outhouse	3.50	
Balance	.65	
	$305.15	$305.15

Respectfully submitted,

W. S. Shreckengaust, President
Thomas Bassler, Secretary
—Clarence S. Bassler

Notes on the Closing of the Rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes, Allotments of Lands in Severalty and the Closing of Each of their Governments

Recently, there has been much interest in the history of the Five Civilized Tribes, relating to the work of the Dawes Commission in settling the great estates of these five Indian nations and the end of their respective governments in the months before Oklahoma was admitted as the 46th State of the Federal Union November 16, 1907. Mrs. Rella Looney in the Indian Archives, Mrs. Dorothy Williams and Mrs. Manon B. Atkins in the Library as well as the Editor have had many, many requests by telephone and letter on the work of the Dawes Commission, particularly seeking data on those whose names appear—or *might or should appear*—on the final rolls of each of the Five Civilized tribes. These questions have repeatedly and specifically asked for the *date of the closing of the rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes,* this date ending the period in which claimants of Indian citizenship and membership in these Five Tribes could be registered and receive their per capita allotments of land in the area of the old Indian government domain—an area which covers approximately 20,000,000 acres of land in the last *Indian Territory,* about one-half of the state of Oklahoma.

The Editor's letter to Mrs. Walter Wood, active member in the Sand Springs Historical Society of Tulsa County is given here since it may be an assistance to those who are interested in the history of the Dawes Commission. This letter is a brief resume on the subject.[1]

[1]For a more extended review on the history of the closing of the governments of the Five Civilized Tribes before Oklahoma statehood and the work of the Dawes Commission see Chapter XLVI, "The Dawes Commission," (written by Muriel H. Wright) appearing in *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* by the co-authors, the late Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, Vol. II, pp. 607-624 (New York, 1929).

Oklahoma Historical Society

Editorial Office

August 19, 1964

Mrs. Walter Wood
1003 West Sixth Street
Sand Springs, Oklahoma
Dear Mrs. Wood:

A reply to your letter received early in July has been unavoidably delayed owing to the many duties at this Editor's desk without direct stenographic assistance in this Office. Many letters that come in the heavy correspondence here require careful checking in research and briefing of the data to give the answers as correctly as possible.

Your letter asked for the "final date of closing of the Rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes. You quoted the statement from my *Indian Tribes book*, page 57: "When the rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes were closed on March 4, 1907, the Cherokees . . . . , etc." This statement appears under the history of the "Cherokee."[2]

Your letter also states that you realize the many difficulties that arose in the work of the Dawes Commission in making the final rolls of each of the Five Civilized Tribes, which was preparatory to the closing of the five Indian governments to clear the way for Statehood.

Each of the five Indian governments made agreements with the U. S. Commissioners for this work, and different problems arose in the settlement of their vast estates. Many acts of Congress during the twelve year period of the work of the Dawes Commission were passed covering various angles that arose from time to time. The Five Tribes were slow in making their respective agreements for final enrollment and allotment of lands to their rightful members. The Cherokees held off and refused to approve a second draft of an agreement written in 1901, thereby causing problems in the work of the Dawes Commission which was originally created on November 1, 1893 and finally ended on March 3, 1905 by law of Congress. Tams Bixby who had served on the Commission since 1895 was appointed through the Secretary of the Interior as "Commissioner to the Five Civilized Tribes" (1905) to carry on the work yet unfinished in the settlement of the vast properties of the five tribal estates.

Brief Listing: Acts of Congress and Ruling by Secretary of the Interior, Relating to the Five Civilized Tribes for Enrollment, Allotment of Lands in Severalty and Close of the Five Tribal Governments.

(1) Act of Congress June 28, 1898, known in history as the *Curtis Act*. This Act included many provisions of the earlier Act of *June 10, 1896 which contained 1st arbitrary legislation passed by Congress over the Five Civilized Tribes*. In the Curtis Act additional provisions relating to the Five Tribes were made, the important one providing that the five tribal governments should continue in "full force and effect" until *March 4, 1906*. This gave eight years to complete the tribal rolls, allotment of lands in severalty and other tribal business. The five Indian governments were to close on *March 4, 1906*.

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[2]Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1951. 2nd printing, 1957).

(2) Act of Congress of March 3, 1901 (Indian Appropriation Act). Secretary of Interior authorized to set the date after which no more applications for enrollment would be taken in the Five Tribes. This was prompted by the delays in the work of the Dawes Commission among the Cherokees. The Secretary of the Interior set the date *July 2, 1902.* This is taken as the date the rolls were closed-*July 2, 1902* (Any special enrollments were made after this date, under the provisions of the Curtis Act).

(3) Act of Congress of March 5, 1905 (Indian Appropriation Act), Provided for enrollment of *newborn children* in the Five Tribes: Choctaws and Chickasaws born between Sept. 25, 1902 and March 4, 1905; Creeks born between May 25, 1901, and March 4, 1905; Seminoles born before March 4, 1905; Cherokees born before March 4, 1905, this work delayed, however, by the case of a Cherokee claiment (or claimants) that had been carried to the U. S. Supreme Court.

(4) U. S. Senate Resolution (37), March 2, 1906. Extended the closing of the Five Tribal Governments to *March 4, 1907.* (24 hours before the date of March 4, 1906 this *S. R. 37* was hurriedly passed extending the Indian governments to *March 4, 1907,* since many *claims* for allotments and millions of dollars in Indian tribal properties had not been settled—i.e. *written down on the books as closed*—thus, jeopardizing the Indian tribal titles.

(5) Act of April 26, 1906, the most important legislation after the Curtis Act. (8 weeks after the passage of *S.R. 37,* the *Act of April 26, 1906* continued the tribal governments *in limited form* until the completion of all tribal business affairs.)

(6) *On March 4, 1907,* the old governments of the Five Tribes closed at midnight. This ended any further enrollment, allotment of lands in severalty and regular election of officials. The elected, Indian officials serving the executive departments at the passage of the *Act of April 26, 1906* were continued under the U. S. Indian office. At the death of these elected officials, their offices were discontinued, or if necessary, new men were appointed by the U. S. Executive Department (Sec. of Int.) to the positions. This has been the case in the chief executive ("Principal Chief" or "Governor"), the position an appointive one, through the years to 1964.

I have written you in reply to your letter, in the form of this brief as others have been asking for information on the *closing of the tribal rolls* of the Five Civilized Tribes which was on *July 2, 1902* (Ruling of Sec. of Int.); the closing of the *newborn rolls* which was *March 4, 1905;* and the close of the five Indian governments, which was *March 4, 1907* (date extended from March 4, 1906, by *S. R. 37*—March 2, 1906—and further activated by the *Act of April 26, 1906.*)

Tams Bixby was the sole Commissioner for the Five Civilized Tribes appointed by the Secretary of the Interior to *March 4, 1907* (appointment made under Act of Congress of March 3, 1905), this position as the *sole Commissioner* ceasing at the same time with the close of the five Indian governments, *March 4, 1907.*

Sincerely,
Muriel H. Wright, Editor
The Chronicles of Oklahoma

Report of History Department, Oklahoma State University October, 1964

The History Department of Oklahoma State University announces the following activities and staff changes effective during the summer of 1964: Dave Warren of the University of New Mexico became instructor; Alfred Levin, professor, became visiting professor of Russian history at the University of Michigan; Theodore L. Agnew, professor, was visiting professor of history at Emory University during the summer; Sidney D. Brown, associate professor, was visiting professor of history at the University of Colorado during the summer; Sarabelle Bray, temporary instructor, became assistant professor of history at Southwestern State College, Weatherford, Oklahoma; Floyd R. Goodno, temporary instructor, became assistant professor of history at Central State College, Edmond, Oklahoma; A. Hunter Dupree, professor of history at the University of California at Berkeley, accepted the 1964 Summer Lectureship in History and spoke on the development of science in the United States; Eugene Hellstern, instructor, served as director of the Junior Seminar on Latin Civilization, sponsored by the History Department and the Development Foundation.

—Homer K. Knight, Head
Department of History

Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Recent Accessions to the Library

The following list gives the titles of books accessioned and cataloged in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, by Mrs. Dorothy Williams, Librarian, from July 1, 1963 to July 1, 1964:

Adair, James. *Geschichte der Americanischen Indianer besonders der am Mississippi . . .* Breslau, Johann E. Meyer, 1782. 419 p.

Allen, Catherine W. *Chariot of the Sun.* Denver, Sage Books, 1964. 244 p.

Allen, T. D. *Navahos Have Five Fingers.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. 249 p.

Alvord, Idress Head. *Descent of Henry Head (1695-1770) in America.* Columbia, Mo., 1949. 681 p.

American Heritage. *The American Heritage Book of Natural Wonders.* New York, American Heritage, 1963. 384 p.

American Heritage—United Press. *Four Days.* New York, American Heritage, 1964. 143 p.

Arkansas Biographical Index. Little Rock, Arkansas Historical Commission, 1915. 164 p.

Arnote, Walter J. *James Samuel Arnote—His Life.* McAlester, Okla., McAlester Democrat, 1959. 60 p.

Artrip, Louise and Fullen. *Memoirs of Daniel Fore (Jim) Chisholm.* Booneville, Ark., Artrip Publications, 1949. 89 p.

Associated Press. *The Torch is Passed.* New York, Associated Press, 1963.

Austin, Mary. *One Hundred Miles on Horseback.* Los Angeles, Dawsons, 1963. 19 p.

Averett, Walter R. *Directory of Nevada Place Names.* Las Vegas, 1963. 114 p.

Ayres, F. Olin. *Ayres' 20th Century Directory and Chart, Lawton, Oklahoma.* Lawton, F. Olin Ayres, 1903. 116 p.

Ballantyne, J. M. *Between You and Me.* Shawnee, Peerless Office Supply, 1935. 48 p.

Bannon, John F. *Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1964. 346 p.

Banta, William. *Twenty-Seven Years on the Texas Frontier.* Council Hill: L. G. Park, 1933. 234 p.

Barrett, Thomas. *The Great Hanging at Gainesville.* Austin,, Texas State Historical Association, 1961. 34 p.

Becker, William J. *The Compounding of Words in the Comanche Indian Language.* Thesis. University of Oklahoma, 1931. 60 p.

Black, W. J. *The Truth About Oklahoma.* Chicago, Rand McNally, 1899. 102 p.

Bonnell, George W. *Topographical Description of Texas.* Waco, Texian Press, 1964. 150 p.

Bonney, Edward. *The Banditti of the Prairies.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. 262 p.

Boudinot, Elias. *An Address to the Whites.* Philadelphia, William F. Geddes, 1826. 16 p.

Brewington, Eugene. *Place Names in Oklahoma.* Oklahoma City, 1956.

Bridgeman, Dan. *A Professional and Business Directory of Vinita, Oklahoma.* Vinita, Vinita Poetical Advertising Company, 1929. 39 p.

Brink, Reverend L. P. *Christian Songs in Navaho.* Chicago, Paul H. Wezeman, 1908. 14 p.

Brinker, Dorothy. *Trinity Lutheran Church, Norman, Oklahoma.* 1963. 42 p.

Bristow, George. *Whittlings in Verse.* Ozark, Ark., 1950.

Brooks, Geraldine. *Dames and Daughters of Colonial Days.* New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1900. 284 p.

Burleigh, Thomas. *Georgia Birds.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1958. 746 p.

Burns, Annie Walker. *Baltimore Marriage Records, 1823-26.* Washington, D. C. n.d.

Burns, Annie Walker. *Christian Family Records.* Washington, D. C. n.d. 159 p.

Burns, Annie Walker. *Family Bible Records of Harlan County, Kentucky.* Washington, D. C.

Burns, Annie Walker. *Index to Tennessee Wills & Inventories in the D.A.R. Library, Washington, D. C.,* 2 vols. Washington, D. C. n.d.

Burns, Annie Walker. *North Carolina Pension Abstracts of the Revolutionary War, War of 1812 and Indian Wars.* Washington, D. C. n.d. 107 p.

Burns, Annie Walker. *Records of Harlan County, Kentucky.* Washington, D. C. n.d.

Burns, Annie Walker. *South Carolina Pension Abstracts of the Revolutionary War, War of 1812 and Indian Wars.* Washington, D. C. n.d. 97 p.

Buttrick, Daniel S. *Antiquities of the Cherokee Indians Compiled from the Collection of Reverend Sabin Buttrick.* Vinita, Vinita Chieftain, 1884. 20 p.

Byers, Chester, *Roping.* New York, G. P. Putnams Sons, 1928. 105 p.

Callender, Tom. *Letters to Alexander Hamilton, King of the Feds . . .* New York, Richard Reynolds, 1802. 48 p.

Campa, Arthur L. *Treasure of the Sangre de Cristos.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. 223 p.

Campbell, Rob M. *Said a Kansas Man.* Topeka, Current Topics Press, 1910. 41 p.

Campbell, W. P. *Neenie, the Coffeyman's Daughter.* Waukomis, Okla., The Oklahoma Hornet, 1907. 57 p.

Carroll, J. M. *A History of Texas Baptists.* Dallas, Baptist Standard, 1923. 1030 p.

Carson, William G. *Dear Josephine.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1936. 313 p.

Carter, Hodding. *Doomed Road of Empire.* New York, McGraw-Hill, 1963. 408 p.

Cassler, Elder Lafayette. *Thrilling Experiences of Frontier Life in the Early Days of Western Oklahoma.* Cincinnati, God's Bible School and Revivalist, 1910. 197 p.

Catton, Bruce. *The Terrible Swift Sword.* Garden City, Doubleday, 1963. 559 p.

Chittenden, Hiram M. *H. M. Chittenden, A Western Epic.* Tacoma, Washington Historical Society, 1961. 136 p.

Chittenden, Hiram M. *The Yellowstone National Park.* Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1964. 208 p.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Cherokee Frontier. By David H. Corkran. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1962. Pp. 302. $5.00.)

In the Eighteenth Century the Cherokee was the largest Indian tribe on the frontiers of English America. A mountain people, the Cherokees lived near and among the high Appalachians on the inland borders of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Their forty or more villages were organized into three great regional communities. Though regionally divided, the Cherokees were not a confederation but a nation.

It has been overlooked, however, that the Cherokee concept of nationalism was formulated long before the nineteenth century, for, from 1740 until 1762 the Cherokees were a homogeneous people, struggling in the face of opposition within and without. During this critical period the traditional nationalist forces in the nation had to contend with many brands of factionalism.

The English-French rivalry for the Cherokee trade split the nation in half. On the eastern borders of their country there was rivalry between South Carolina and Virginia for the same business. All of this was matched by factional splits among Overhill, Middle and Lower Townsmen. Each had their own plans for supremancy and for profitable trade with the Europeans.

The author has written, not only of early Cherokee history, but a realistic picture of Indian intrigue that points up the influence of intratribal conflicts on Colonial history —demonstrating that the Cherokees' own problems were more significant than European pressure in shaping events.

Much hitherto neglected documentary material from the Colonial period was utilized. Though at times the text is heavy reading, the author has done a scholarly job on a little known period in the history of the American colonies.

—Arthur Shoemaker

Hominy, Oklahoma

Book of the Hopi. By Frank Waters. Drawings and Source Material recorded by Oswald White Bear Fredericks. (The Viking Press, New York, 1963. Pp. xvii, 347. Illustrations, photographs, and glossary. $10.00.)

Whether the authors wished it so or not, this book will inevitably be compared with Dr. Bertha P. Dutton's *Sun Father's Way*: The Kiva Murals of Kuaua.

Mr. Waters and Mr. Fredericks have approached the task of comining art, history, tradition, myth, folklore, and Hopi ceremonialism with dignity and authority. Mr. Fredericks, of Oraibi, Arizona, is himself a Hopi. He was the one who persuaded older members of the community to disclose long and closely kept secrets.

The interviews were taken with a tape recorder, and transcribed and translated by Mr. and Mrs. Federicks. The work was accomplished without fanfare and over a period of several years. Checking and rechecking followed. By the time *Book of the Hopi* reached the publisher, everything possible had been done to secure and synthesise the information it contains.

In his introduction, Mr. Waters says, "...It is the presentation of a life pattern rooted in the soil of this continent... The Hopis do not set themselves apart as human entitites from this pattern. They are as sure of the future as they are of the past.

"Beginning with their Genesis, and carrying through the Old Testament of previous worlds and their New Testament of the present to the Revelation of their esoteric ceremonialism, the tenets of this book are as sacred to the Hopis as the Judean-Christian Bible is to other peoples..."

With paintings, drawings, photographs, and reproductions of pertoglyphs from other parts of the Southwest, the authors have attempted to confirm the Hopi origin myth and their legends of subsequent wanderings, through successive worlds, guided and helped by supernatural heroes, to their present high desert home in North Central Arizona.

The Hopi villages are situated more than a mile high, looking out from mesa peaks and points over the light-changing panorama of the desert. There are twelve of them. The oldest, Oraibi, has been established by tree-ring dating to have first been built on its present site, on the Third of the Hopi mesas, not later than 900 A. D. Oraibi regards itself as the parent of all other villages, some of which have been established and named within the 20th Century. Oraibi clans and Oraibi ceremonialism are thought of as ancestral to those of the other twelve villages.

Interestingly enough, each new village was the result of a split between the occupants of an older one. The People of Peace, as the Hopis call themselves, adjusted their inner

difficulties by moving away from the causes of them. Theirs was no life to permit warring of brother against brother.

It would be both exciting and interesting if similar data could be recorded from the elders of other Hopi towns. Agreements and disagreements among their accounts might bring about a reappraisal of much of Southwestern prehistory, and history, especially when compared with this book. One hopes it is only the first of a long series of such records.

One oddly conspicuous lack, not noticeable in Mr. Waters' previous book, *Dancing Gods,* struck this reviewer. There is no index to the present volume, and an index would have been a useful tool for the non-Hopi reader. Or should one refer, perhaps, to a "Concordance" for this native Bible.

In physical make-up, *Book of the Hopi* is worthy of the standards of Viking Press. Photographs, reproductions by drawing of Hopi symbols, and transcription of petroglyphs are superbly reproduced. On the basis of its designing alone *Book of the Hopi* deserves to be part of the library of any student of the American Southwest.

—Alice Marriott

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Frontier Life in Oklahoma. By Allie B. Wallace. (Public Affairs, Press, Washington, D.C., 1964. Pp. 136. $4.50.)

For those who have grown up on the plains of western Oklahoma, the reading of *Frontier Life in Oklahoma* by Allie B. Wallace brings a deep feeling of nostalgia.

In this little book of personal rememberances, Mrs. Wallace depicts and paints a picture of the life that was around her as she grew from childhood to maturity in the Cheyenne-Arapaho country. You can hear the cluck-cluck of the wagon hubs on their spinels, as the family rides from their farm to the near-by village. You have a feeling of wanting to indulge in an old fashioned taffy pull when she describes such an event.

Truly, Mrs. Wallace has given a little girl to young women view of early western Oklahoma. It is to be hoped that some man will do as well from the masculine viewpoint, —before there is no one left to tell the story.

Frontier Life in Oklahoma is a small, unpretentious book. Invariably this kind turns out to be the best.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma —Elmer L. Fraker

Burs Under the Saddle; A Second Look at Books and Histories of the West. By Ramon F. Adams. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1964. Pp. x, 610. Introduction. Index. $20.00.)

The burs under author Ramon F. Adams' saddle are the inaccuracies in so-called authentic books about good and bad men of the American West. He has found 423 such books which he proceeds to de-bur of their errors. This is no *Index Expurgatorius.* Adams gives honest credit where it is due before he attempts to set the record straight.

For example, on Joe B. Frantz and Ernest Choate, Jr., *The American Cowboy,* Adams begins with, "This is an interesting book, but . . ." Adams then goes after the "buts." Joel Collins did not rob a Union Pacific train of $60,000 in order to repay money belonging to friends which he had gambled away. Nor did Billy the Kid grow up to manhood in Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico. And Wyatt Earp was not a marshal in Wichita but "a city policeman of small consequence."

In a harsher example, author Adams trains his de-burring guns on famed Western author Emerson Hough. Hough was originally a lawyer who, Adams said, should have checked his evidence. Writes Adams, "I have found him to be careless and unreliable as a historian." In his *The Story of the Cowboy,* Hough wrote that Billy the Kid killed seven Mexicans "just to see them kick." Adams points out that Mexicans were Billy's friends; they fed him, hid him, spied for him, and loved him. The sad part about creating such a legend out of whole cloth, Adams points out, is that later writers repeated it with embellishments.

Of one book, *The Only True History of the Life of Frank James,* Adams writes, "This is one of the most brazen bits of writing it has been my experience to read." He tears into the fabrications and ends with, "Both Frank and Jesse would turn over in their graves if they knew about this one."

Adams blames the faulty reminiscences of old-timers just as much as he does the swashbuckling sensationalism of dime novelists. The old-timer, rarely a writer, usually decides to write in his dotage. He depends on a faulty memory, heresay, or campfire tall tales; is careless with facts, spells names of people and places by ear; and dates have little significance for him. His editor, often ignorant of Western history, accepts the garbled account because the author is an old-timer and he is writing from and about

his own experience. Later writers, be they dime novelists or of a more serious turn, too often perpetuate the myths precisely because myths about men ten feet tall fit the aura of the American West.

This is an important book which will fill a permanent place in the libraries of Western historians and Western-lore lovers. It is astringent, and here lies its power. In preserving the true West, Adams rips away the false scaffolding. The structure that remains is the better for it. Ramon F. Adams comes by this book naturally. He is a well-known bibliographer, lexicographer, and historian of the American West who has written among other books: *A Fitting Death for Billy the Kid, Come An' Get It: The Story of the Old Cowboy Cook,* and *Western Words: A Dictionary of the Range, Cow Camp, and Trail.*

It is coincidental and interesting that Adams' book should appear just a few months before the death of folklorist J. Frank Dobie. That grand old Texan's turn-of-the-century boyhood was rooted in the aftermath of the American West's day of grandeur. Dobie lovingly collected both tall and true tales of the West and spun these out endlessly and delightfully. Men like Dobie knew the facts but enjoyed salting them with a pinch of fancy. Dobie's departure from the land of oft-told tales ends an age. Adams' book marks its sad finale.

—Franklin Parker

The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

ROBERT LEE SIMPSON
1874-1962

Robert Lee Simpson, one of the most illustrious and beloved men who ever lived in Eufaula died on March 3, 1962, following a prolonged illness in the McAlester General Hospital. This Eufaula native of eighty-seven years had served as president of the State National Bank and its predecessor for fifty-one years at the time of his passing. Funeral services were held on March 6, in the Eufaula Methodist Church with burial in the local Greenwood Cemetery. Eufaula lost a sincere and enthusiastic civil leader, a devout church member, and a gentleman in the death of Mr. Simpson.

"Uncle Bob" as he was affectionately known to thousands of his friends was the oldest son of John Francis Simpson, a native of Bardstown, Kentucky, and Susan Ann Crabtree, who was of part Creek Indian descent from Alabama. They were married in Texarkana, Arkansas and came to the Eufaula area in 1872 to establish their home. The elder Mr. Simpson was a planter and soon after moving here was named first postmaster of Eufaula. However, the family home at the time stood about two miles north of the present Eufaula townsite and three miles west of old North Fork town. This is where the future bank president was born on September 23, 1874.

The Simpson family moved within a few years to Eufaula where young Bob received his elementary education in the privately-operated local school. Later he attended Westminister College, Fulton, Missouri for two years before returning here to become bookkeeper for Tully Merchantile company, one of the largest stores of its kind in Indian Territory. Within a few years, Mr. Simpson was promoted to store manager and remained with this firm sixteen years before embarking on his banking career.

He was the prime mover in organizing on October 25, 1910, the First State bank of Eufaula. As its first president and with a rapid growth experienced, he was able to get a Federal charter on May 13, 1913, and rename it the State National Bank.

During his long tenure as bank president, "Uncle Bob" gave generously of his time, effort, and wealth in helping Eufaula, its farm trade territory, and its many residents. He headed numerous fund-raising drives to boost Eufaula civic projects, improve the rural economy of south McIntosh County, and to assist national relief groups such as the Red Cross to reach their local goals. Shortly before his death he received a twenty-year certificate for outstanding zeal in pushing the sale of U. S. savings bonds among area residents. He was faithful to the Eufaula Methodist Church on many occasions during his long-time membership, and served as a trustee for at least fifty years and, also for a time on its board of stewards.

Despite two national depressions and a number of devastating floods and drouths in McIntosh County, Mr. Simpson operated the State National bank and its forerunner in such a way that the firms were always able to remain on a solid financial basis. The occasion never arose when it became necessary for stockholders to bear personal assessments in order that the banks could continue operating.

ROBERT LEE SIMPSON

He was among the top leaders along the Old Texas Road who fought strongly to get the present heavily-traveled U. S. Highway 69 designated as the Jefferson Highway back when cars were first coming on the Oklahoma scene. In later years, Mr. Simpson spent much effort and went to considerable personal expense along with other interested parties in convincing the Oklahoma Highway Commission that a definite need existed for an east-west highway across the state through Eufaula and south McIntosh County. Final completion of State Highway 9 was realized in the early 1950s.

The Eufaula banker played the key role in getting the U. S. Department of Agriculture to set up its first state soil conservation program in the Eufaula farm area on March 22, 1938.

He was a charter member and first president of the Eufaula Lions Club. A special banquet in honor of "Uncle Bob" for his many community achievements was held in 1959, by this service group on the Fortieth Anniversary of its local founding. He also was a member of the Eufaula Masonic lodge.

Mr. Simpson was married May 14, 1902, to Miss Agnes Whatley, a native of Ennis, Texas, in the Eufaula Methodist church. Their children all of whom survived include Robert L. Simpson, Jr., Eufaula; and two daughters, Mrs. Frank (Mary Elizabeth) Ittner, Midland, Texas; and Mrs. R. J. (Agnes) Burch, Lexington, Ky. Other survivors are the widow of the home; and two sisters, Mrs. E. F. Saltsman, Eufaula, and Mrs. Edward M. Washington, Tulsa. He was preceded in death by two brothers—John C. Simpson, Eufaula and James H. Simpson, Montrose, Colorado; and one sister, Mrs. C. G. Moore, Eufaula.

Mr. Simpson was truly a great man and his loss has been felt keenly by his long-time friends and associates in Eufaula.

—Robert B. Buford

Eufaula, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

July 23, 1964

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order by President George H. Shirk at 10:00 a. m. in the Board Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building on July 23, 1964.

The roll was called by the Administrative Scretary, Mr. Elmer L. Fraker. Board members present were: Mr. Lou Allard, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, Judge Orel Busby, Judge J. G. Clift, Judge Richard H. Cloyd, Mr. Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. W. D. Finney, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mr. J. Lloyd Jones, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. W. E. McIntosh, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Miss Genevieve Seger, and Mr. George H. Shirk.

Board members not in attendance were: Mr. Henry B. Bass, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge N. B. Johnson, and Mrs. Frank Korn.

Judge Hefner moved that the absent members be excused, as all had so requested. This motion, seconded by Dr. Dale, was unanimously passed.

Mr. Fraker reported on the gifts and new memberships received during the past quarter. He said there had been one new Life Member, and 26 new Annual Members, besides a number of gifts. Miss Seger moved that the gifts be accepted, and the members elected to membership. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion, which was adopted.

A brief report on the annual tour was given by Mr. Fraker. He said there were 110 people on the tour and for the first time in years the trip was a financial success, there being a balance of $35.47 after all expenses had been paid.

The reception desk sales have been good this year, reported the Administrative Secretary. The total sales for this year is $2,046.60, approximately $1,000 of which is profit. This is all the more gratifying when it is realized that the receptionist is frequently away from her desk on other duties.

Mrs. LaJeanne McIntyre, Chief Clerk, was commended for her bookkeeping of the past year by Mr. Fraker when he reported on the balance for the appropriated funds for 1963-1964. The total balance for these five accounts comes to $32.34.

The financial dealings for the purchase of the sod house by the Oklahoma Historical Society have been completed, Mr. Fraker stated. Chief Curator William Dale is now in the process of contracting for the constructing of a temporary shelter to protect the sod house from the elements until a permanent building can be erected.

Mr. Fraker reported that the oil well museum situation is not standing still, although little has been mentioned about it lately. He said that through the efforts of Mr. J. L. Shakley, and Mr. Lawrence E. Ferguson, both of Tulsa, the Oklahoma Historical Society has obtained some oil rig machinery for the museum. This machinery has been donated by the Lucy Products Company, of which Mr. Ferguson is Assistant to the President.

The Administrative Secretary presented to the Board of Directors a proposal that was made by the Historic Sites Committee at their meeting on June 16, 1964. It was proposed by this Committee that a joint proposal be submitted to the Legislative Council coming from the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board, that historic sites, in control of other agencies of state government, be placed in charge of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. McIntosh, Chairman of the Historic Sites Committee, with Mr. Fraker, askd that the Board take action in this matter. It was moved by Mr. Boydstun, seconded by Judge Cloyd that the proposal be approved. The motion was adopted.

In his concluding remarks, Mr. Fraker called attention to the fact that the date of the next Board meeting, October 29th, falls during the time of the American Association for State and Local History annual convention to be held this year in Oklahoma City. He asked the pleasure of the Board in regard to changing the time of the Board meeting. The Board agreed to meet on October 27th at 10:00 a. m., thus avoiding any conflict.

Mrs. Bowman made the Treasurer's report, showing that all of the Society's accounts are in good condition. It was moved by Mr. Phillips, and seconded by Mr. Muldrow that the Treasurer's report be accepted. The motion passed.

Mr. McIntosh reported on the activities of the Historic Sites Committee of which he is Chairman. He mentioned the meeting of this committee held on June 16, 1964, and said the committee hopes to erect a minimum of ten markers in 1965 without cost to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

President Shirk asked, at the recommendation of Mr. Fraker that the Board of Directors formally commend Mr. Bruce Selby of Enid, and Mr. Leo W. Morris, Cleo Springs, for their work in helping the Oklahoma Historical Society to acquire the sod house property. It was so moved by Mr. Phillips, seconded by Mr. Allard, and approved by the Board when voted upon.

The report for the Microfilm Committee was made by Mr. Phillips, who said the Society is doing microfilming for a large number of papers, and is getting more orders for this work all the time.

Dr. Morrison outlined the rehabilitation work being done at Fort Washita. Among other things, an area has been cleared for a Boy Scout hostel. He asked Mr. Muldrow to comment on efforts being made to have Fort Washita named a National Historic Landmark. Mr. Muldrow pointed out that with the backing of Congressman Carl Albert, progress was being made. He said this action would in no way include the federal government's taking over the restoration project, but would mean that Fort Washita would get some federal money for the restoration work.

In the absence of Mr. Bass, President Shirk made a report for the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission. He mentioned the commemoration ceremony held at Tamaha near Stigler, the 100th. anniversary of General Stand Watie's capture of the "J. R. Williams". He said that the next ceremony would be in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the Second Battle of Cabin Creek.

The President mentioned the restoration work being done on a rare old Civil War cannon that will soon be finished and placed in the Oklahoma Historical Society for permanent preservation.

Judge Busby reported for the Oklahoma delegation to the New York World's Fair, and on the ceremonies that were held on Oklahoma

Day. The Oklahoma Day ceremonies included the unveiling of the bust by Willard Stone of Mrs. Alice Brown Davis, Chieftain of the Seminole Indians. He said they were good programs, and well attended.

President Shirk told the members of the Board about the formal opening of the exhibit of wood sculpture by Willard Stone which was displayed in the alcove on the second floor of the Historical Society Building. Governor Bellmon had made a brief opening speech and introduced Mr. Stone at the short ceremony which took place on June 4th.

It was pointed out by President Shirk that Governor Bellmon is extremely interested in the Oklahoma Historical Society's obtaining a piece of Mr. Stone's work for permanent preservation in the Society. It was recommended by the President that a committee be appointed for the purpose of investigating the possibility of buying a piece of such sculpture from Mr. Stone, and also deciding whether to buy a piece that is already finished, and if so which one, or to commission Mr. Stone to do a piece specifically for the Oklahoma Historical Society. A motion to this effect was made by Mr. Allard, seconded by Mr. Muldrow, and passed by the Board. It was suggested by Mr. Jones that the committee asked Mr. Stone if there was anything he would particularly like to do for the Society. The committee appointed by the President for this purpose was: Mr. McBride, Chairman; Mrs. Bowman, and Mr. Jones.

Mr. Jones expressed great interest in the property of Sequoyah's home which is owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society, but presently under the care of the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board. This is one of the historic sites in which the Society is interested in taking over control. Mr. Jones expressed the opinion that the Society has a good opportunity to make this a very interesting exhibit, and to really show why Sequoyah is so justly famous.

Mr. McBride reported for the Publications Committee. He stated that the coming issue of THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA will be a little late this quarter, and that the picture of the Board members which was taken at the last meeting will be published in the issue. Mr. McBride suggested that a "Who's Who" of each member of the Board be obtained for publication in the Chronicles.

Dr. Dale presented a copy of his book FRONTIER WAYS to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Part of this book has been condensed by the United States Information Agency for distribution on the continent of Europe, Asia, and Africa. He also presented an English copy of this condensation, and one in Arabic.

Mr. Shirk announced that he, Mr. Bass, and Mr. Jordan Reaves would be hosts at a party on the evening of Tuesday, October 27th, at 5:30 p.m. at Quail Creek Country Club for officials of the American Association for State and Local History. He invited all members of the Board to be present.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned at 11:40 a.m.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED-JULY, 1964

MUSEUM

Pictures:

C. K. Luce Lumber Company, Waynoka
Longbell Lumber Company, Waynoka
Santa Fe Depot about 1909, Waynoka
City Blacksmith Shop, Waynoka
Ice Plant, Waynoka, 1909
Hotel-Restaurant, East Cecil Street, Waynoka
Lone Star Livery Stable, Waynoka
Hendrie Cash Store, Waynoka
First Grain Elevator, Waynoka
Street Scene, Waynoka
Parade, Band and Indians, Waynoka
Donor: Clifford Godfrey, Waynoka, Oklahoma
Marshall McCulley's Sod House
Temporary Capitol at Guthrie
Donor: Copied by the Oklahoma Historical Society
Group Guymon Business Men Campaigning for Statehood
Flour Mill, Guymon, 1907
Group, First Farmers Union in Texas County
Grade School at Guymon, 1907
F. M. Hover and Family
Donor: Leola Lehman, Lawton, Oklahoma
Wichita Grass House
Caddo House
Interior Earth Lodge
Grass House
Dancers and grass house
Donor: Planning and Recources Board, State Capitol, Oklahoma City.
Panorama, long line of automobiles
Donor: Ray D. West, Oklahoma City
Wall of Sod House in Alfalfa County
Sod House in Alfalfa County
Group at Sod House, 1964
Group at Sod House, June 12,1964
1964 Historical Tour at Roman Nose Park
Donor: Nola Rigdon, Crescent, Oklahoma
Bus, 1964 Historical Tour at Woodward
Donor: Sands Motel, Woodward, Oklahoma
Memorial Poem to Judge Edwin R. McNeill (illustrated and framed)
Donor: Mrs. Edwin R. McNeill Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Exhibits:

Jacket, gray wool for a small boy, worn in 1889
Donor: Mrs. Ruth Stephens, Oklahoma City
Stone Plow, found in creek bed near Harrah
Donor: Gordon T. Schaul, Oklahoma City
A pair of Collar Housings
Donor: Clifford C. Jones, Elk City, Oklahoma

April 24, 1964 to July 23, 1964

NEW LIFE MEMBER

Warren, Eloise	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

Aaron, Beatrice	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Anderson, Mrs. Charles G., Jr.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Bergh, George S.	Minneapolis, Minnesota
Bostwick, Mrs. Ann T.	Fairview, Oklahoma
Bruton, Mrs. Linda Fae	Broken Bow, Oklahoma
Chadwick, Monroe	Mangum, Oklahoma
Estes, Clinton N.	Ardmore, Oklahoma
Ford, Joe Gregg	Lawton, Oklahoma
Gibbs, Mrs. Everett	Madill, Oklahoma
Haggard, Charles H.	Durant, Oklahoma
Henderson, Mrs. M. R.	Delhi, Oklahoma
Hill, Mrs. Wayne	Marlow, Oklahoma
Hodge, Mrs. L. E., Jr.	Hammon, Oklahoma
Johnson, J. B.	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Kimball, Floyd L., Jr.	Knoxville, Tennessee
LeFlore, Mrs. Preston	Dallas, Texas
Locke, Miss Marcella	Madill, Oklahoma
Lovell, John E.	Enid, Oklahoma
O'Neal, Harold A.	Pixley, California
Price, Robert G.	Duncan, Oklahoma
Settle, Bill	Tulsa, Oklahoma
Spurlock, Mrs. Waneta Jeanne	Ada, Oklahoma
Strickland, Rennard	Charlottesville, Virginia
Sturdivant, Mrs. Reita	Ada, Oklahoma
Thompson, Grover C.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Yount, Robert R., Jr.	Tinker AFB, Oklahoma

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Editor*
ELMER L. FRAKER, *Business Manager*
PUBLICATION COMMITTEE
POE W. MCBRIDE, *Chairman*

EDWARD EVERETT DALE — H. MILT PHILLIPS
JOE W. CURTIS — LOU ALLARD
R. G. MILLER — B. B. CHAPMAN

Winter, 1964-65

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Cover: The front cover shows a photograph of Chief Henry Roman Nose taken when he served on a Cheyenne delegation to Washington in 1899. He is wearing the Chief's medal and the round "Messiah" hat which he wore in his late years when living on his allotment in the region of the Roman Nose State Park (Blaine County) that was named for him. The photo is a Choate photograph supplied by courtesy of the New York Public Library, Rare Book Division.

"TIME COULD NOT HOLD THEM"

*By Joe W. Curtis**

This is a glorious season of the year. Autumn has put on her most beautiful raiment, resplendent with colors which please the eye and charm the soul. Only recently, have we observed Veterans Day, and, again, have been reminded of our heritage and the debt we owe to our gallant and courageous men who have made the supreme sacrifice in order that this nation might not perish from the earth. Now, we approach the Thanksgiving period of this year, when we, with humble hearts, give thanks to a wise and omnipotent Creator for the many blessings He has provided for His children.

It is good, therefore, that we hold this day a formal ceremony of memorializing those who have left us in the past year. It is good because such things are always enlarging to those who do them.

Perhaps the primary thing which differentiates us as mankind from all the rest of God's creation is the simple fact that we live as connecting links between the past and the future. It is the destiny of all who bear life, in whatever form, to face the future. This is inescapable. It is ours, as sentient creatures, to look back, to recall, to preserve, to accumulate and to be guided by the past.

No account of the past is worth the intellectual effort to comprehend apart from the impact of the lives which have been lived. It is not any exaggeration to say that we, who sing and speak and contemplate the past, today are the beneficiaries of the sum total of all the lives which have preceded us.

Truly, we are this day privileged to enjoy the fruits of those who have labored so well in the vineyards of yesterday. Should we not then resolve to sow better seed in

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* Honorable Joe W. Curtis, Pauls Valley, Oklahoma gave this paper as the principal address for the "Hour of Remembrance," the ritualistic program of the Oklahoma Memorial Association, this meeting held in the Historical Building on Monday morning, November 16, 1964. The "Hour of Remembrance Program" is held annually in the morning on the anniversary of Statehood Day (November 16, 1907), by the Oklahoma Memorial Association in memory of its honorees in the "Oklahoma Hall of Fame" and others of the faithful members of the Association who have died during the past year. Mr. Curtis gives a brief sketch of each of these for 1963 and 1964.

better ground that tomorrow's harvest may be more bountiful? Moreover, may we prove our gratitude to them by better serving our generation, so that tomorrow's citizens may know a better world.

While we come today to memorialize special and certain names which have great meaning and immediate call upon our hearts, it is fitting that we put in perspective the sublime and wonderful fact that all have contributed to the reservoir from which we draw our warrant for tomorrow. These we recall to mind today, then, become symbols of a great truth, even as they call forth our tears of recollection and our sincerest words of tribute. Whether we like it or not, Oklahoma is all too soon accumulating an ever deepening past. As these we have known and loved pass away, they join a vast company, and add to the great debt we owe to them all.

Only a few years ago, Oklahoma was so young that the past, as a State and as a People, was inextricably woven into the present. But the passage of the years makes the difference more and more apparent. This must always be true in marking the passage of time in any one place, or among any combination of people. As Oklahoma ages and grows, the deepening pools of what has been becomes more and more an honest object of our veneration and respect.

Great souls are answers to the challenges of stirring times and the end products of great dreams. The lives of the great are timeless; they are written history of the ages. From generation to generation, they enlighten, instruct, and by their examples inspire to greater hopes, dreams, aspirations and achievements the millions who follow them.[1] It is literally true that each generation stands upon the shoulders of all the generations that preceded it. Great leaders not only build and expand the economy of our generation, but they also contribute to and advance the culture of our time. They paint the pictures, preach the sermons, write the books and songs, and mold the new generation to meet whatever destiny awaits it.

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[1]The following "Honorees" were present in person and inducted into the "Oklahoma Hall of Fame" sponsored by the Oklahoma Memorial Association at its Annual Banquet commemorating Statehood Day, held this year the evening of November 16, 1964, in the Civic Room of the Sheraton Hotel, Oklahoma City: Madame Ramon Vinay (née Tess Mobley), opera Star, Varennes (Loiret), France; Van Heflin, stage and screen actor, Hollywood-New York City; Mickey Mantle, national baseball star, New York "Yankees"; Mrs. Frank Buttram, Fine arts, Oklahoma City; Harvey P. Everest, civic leader and banker, Oklahoma City; Clarence H. Wright, philanthropist Tulsa.

It is these great and inspiring departed whom we are honoring here today. In little more than half a century they, the known and unknown pioneers, have fashioned the State of Oklahoma into the greatness that is hers.

We pay special tribute today to the following who, over and above the call of duty, have made such great contributions to Oklahoma:

Jed J. Johnson: Born Ellis County, Texas, July 31, 1888; died May 8, 1963. (Was not memorialized by the Association in 1963.) He studied law at the University of Oklahoma and received a degree in International Law from the University of Clermont in France. He served with the 36th Division in France during World War I. He served in the Oklahoma State Senate from 1917 to 1927 and in the U. S. House of Representatives from 1927 to 1947. He was a Judge of the U. S. Customs Court in New York City from 1947 to the date of his death. Judge Johnson served his country well in time of war and in time of peace. His life of dedicated public service will long be remembered.

Mrs. Nina Kay Gore: Born near Texarkana, Texas, 1878; Honoree "Oklahoma Hall of Fame" 1949; died May 8, 1963. (Was not memorialized by the Association in 1963.) Married Thomas P. Gore, an attorney of Corsicana, Texas, in 1900. Mrs. Gore was her husband's constant companion and was often pictured as the "eyes" of the blind Senator. She kept his hundreds of books arranged so that he could direct a visitor to any one volume. Mrs. Gore quoted her husband as follows "Go to the second shelf, take down the 4th book from the left, turn to page 343, and tell me what Thomas Jefferson said." She was a gentle and lovely lady, devoted wife and homemaker.

Richard Lloyd Jones: Born in Janesville, Ohio, April 14, 1874; Honoree "Oklahoma Hall of Fame" 1952; died Dec. 4, 1963. He attended the Universities of Wisconsin and Chicago; received his L.L.B. degree from Chicago Law School in 1897 and Hon. L.L.D. from Lincoln Memorial University in 1918. He was an editor and editorial writer, and his publications included *Stamford Telegram* (Conn.), *Washington Times, Cosmopolitan Magazine,* and *Wisconsin State Journal.* He came to Oklahoma and was founder of the *Tulsa Tribune* in 1919, and also owned the *Tulsa Democrat.* He organized the Lincoln Farm Association which preserved Lincoln's birthplace by small contributions over the U. S.; he secured appropriations from the Kentucky Legislature and U. S. Congress for Statue of Lincoln at Hodgenville, Kentucky. He was a member of the boards of many

organizations and colleges and served on the Federal Labor Commission from 1905 to 1911. He was the author of several books and syndicated articles. He was a member of the Unitarian Church. His father, Jenkin Lloyd Jones (1st) was an internationally known preacher and lecturer and was pastor of "All Souls Church" in Chicago for over forty years. Mr. Jones was a fearless editor. He was a molder of public opinion. He contributed much of his time, talent and means to the upbuilding of his home city, of Oklahoma, and of the Nation.

Charles Evans: Born in Salem, Kentucky, August 16, 1870; Honoree "Oklahoma Hall of Fame" 1946; died April 30, 1964. He attended the Kentucky schools and received his B.S. degree at Lebanon, Ohio, University; he received his M.A. degree at Kentucky State University in 1911 and Honorary L.L.B. in 1915. He began teaching in Kentucky in 1887 and was superintendent of schools at Marion, Kentucky, and later at Ardmore, coming to Oklahoma in 1905. He was President of Central State College, Edmond, and of Kendall College, Tulsa. He served as Executive Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society from 1944 to 1954. He was a member of a number of civic and state boards and was a writer of textbooks and numerous articles. He was named as Editor of the Chronicles and served in such capacity from 1944 to 1954. He was a 33rd degree Mason. As a distinguished educator and writer, Dr. Evans has perhaps contributed as much to the culture of Oklahoma as any other individual.

Mrs. Elmer Thomas: Born Plankinton, North Dakota, June 8, 1883; died March 5, 1964. Mrs. Thomas was the daughter of Honorable Wilford M. Smith, who was one of South Dakota's first State Senators. Mr. Smith moved his family to Lawton in 1901, where he was a practicing attorney. Mrs. Thomas was married to Elmer Thomas at Lawton on September 24, 1902. Senator Elmer Thomas was an Honoree of the "Oklahoma Hall of Fame" in 1932, and now makes his home in Lawton. He served four years in the U. S. House of Representatives and twenty-four years in the U. S. Senate from Oklahoma. Mrs. Thomas was devoted to her home and family, and was a civic leader and an inspiration to all who knew her.

Reverend Charles Webber: Born Oklahoma City, 1933; died October, 1964. Rev. Webber participated in the Memorial Programs of the Oklahoma Memorial Association for several years. The son of Dr. and Mrs. E. F. Webber, Oklahoma City, he was of Cherokee Indian descent. He studied at Oklahoma State and Oklahoma City Universities, where

he majored in Theology. He was licensed as a Methodist Minister in Oklahoma City and was pastor first at Choctaw and second at Calvary Tabernacle, Oklahoma City. He visited the Holy Land in 1955. He was of the "Fundamentalist Methodist Group." Reverend Webber was a fine Christian character who contributed much to his Church, to Oklahoma, and to this Association.

Mac Q. Williamson: Born Nebraska City, Nebraska, October 13, 1889; Honoree of "Oklahoma Hall of Fame" November, 1959; died October 15, 1964. He was the son of a minister of the Christian Church, who moved his family to Oklahoma City in 1905 and a year later to Pauls Valley. He was a member of the first law class at the University of Oklahoma and was admitted to the Bar in 1913. In 1914 and 1916, he was elected Pauls Valley City Attorney. In 1917, he resigned to enlist in the U. S. Army. In 1920, home from the war, Williamson was elected County Attorney of Garvin County, and was re-elected for a second term in 1922. In 1924 he was elected to the Oklahoma State Senate from the 19th District, comprising Garvin, McClain, and Cleveland counties, and was re-elected for a second term in 1928. In 1927 he was elected President Pro Tempore of the Senate. After two terms in the upper house, he temporarily retired from politics in 1932. In 1934, however, he was elected Attorney General of the State of Oklahoma, and was re-elected in 1938 and 1942. In 1944 he resigned to enter the U. S. Army as an American Military Government officer and served in Europe. Following his release from the Armed Services, Williamson was reinstated as Attorney General by Gov. Robert S. Kerr on January 31, 1946. He was re-elected in 1946, 1950, and 1958, the last of which was his seventh term as Attorney General. In failing health, he declined to seek re-election in 1962 and retired from public life. He was a great patriot, an outstanding lawyer, and a dedicated public servant. He was a friend of people in all walks of life.

We do not believe that those we honor here today would have us spend these moments of remembrance in recalling events in the thrilling, glorious and romantic history of our State. Nor would they have us recall the lasting accomplishments of all those adventurous pioneers who devoted their lives of service to the upbuilding of our great State. Rather, we believe they would have us get on with more pressing matters. They would have us come to grips with the grave and awesome problems which burden and overwhelm us in the world today.

First, they would have us become concerned. They then would have us admit that our freedom, our liberties,

and, yes, our very lives and the existence of our world are endangered and threatened. Past generations and ages all have had their problems. However, never before has man possessed the capability to destroy this entire planet and reduce it to ashes in one blinding moment. If there is to be a tomorrow, it is clear that the peoples of the earth must learn to live together in peace, understanding and good will. We no longer live in a world so large that we can isolate ourselves from other countries and other peoples. Because of our present means of communication and transportation, all countries and all races are neighbors. We must, therefore, learn to be good neighbors if we are to survive.

Secondly, we must have an awareness of the evil forces that would destroy us from within. In this fast moving and changing world there are certain truths which are eternal. It is our job to go to work, using these eternal truths as our shield and sword and overcome those forces of evil before they overtake us.

It is written upon the pages of history in bold letters for all to see that the average age of the world's great civilizations has been 200 years.

These nations progressed through this sequence:

From Bondage to Spiritual Faith.
From Spiritual Faith to Great Courage.
From Great Courage to Liberty.
From Liberty to Abundance.
From Abundance to Selfishness.
From Selfishness to Complacency.
From Complacency to Apathy.
From Apathy to Dependency.
From Dependency back to Bondage.

In twelve years our nation will be 200 years old. This cycle is not inevitable. It depends on *US.*

" 'Our task then is to build a better world,' God said. I answered, 'How? The world is such a large, vast place, so complicated now. And I So small and useless am. There's nothing I can do.' But God in all His wisdom said, 'Just Build a Better You.' "

As we say these things, we are struck by the inevitability of looking within and ahead. While the tradition these men and women whom we honor today have left becomes ever longer and greater, our debt becomes deeper and deeper.

There is neither stick nor stone, institution nor idea, religious impulse nor conclusion, dream nor fruition, which characterizes today, which was not sown, rooted and flowered in the lives of those who have gone before. We bring forth no new creation. Rather, we mold and modify, alter and embellish, detract or lose, what has been given us. As we here pay tribute to the past; as we take from them renewed strength for today; we find ourselves always standing between yesterday and tomorrow, in such a relationship that the present seems always to belong elsewhere than here.

The charge to us from the past and the challenge to us from the future equally call for our very best efforts to so live and so conduct our own times and affairs that the past will be enhanced by our additions to it and the future will be better because we did. In a sense as real as is our awareness of ourselves, we feel the obligation that we owe them out of respect to their memory, but we equally feel the call of tomorrow. It is well that we always look forward after our glances back. So, today, we reverently say our words of tribute, sing our hymns of faith, gratefully acknowledge our debt.

Time needed these honored patriots. Time cherishes their memories. Time built a wall of years around them. But Time could not hold them. Let them sleep. Let them rest awhile. Our memorial here today cherishes the belief that they shall be awakened to greater tasks than they have ever known. They shall walk more glorious paths than they ever dared to dream.

AUGUSTUS NEWTON SPENCER, FOUNDER OF YUKON

*By Mary Spencer Whitlow**

After living to see nearly fifty years of Oklahoma's phenomenal growth as a state, I feel that my father's part in its early territorial history will add its bit to that long ago time in a very, very new land.

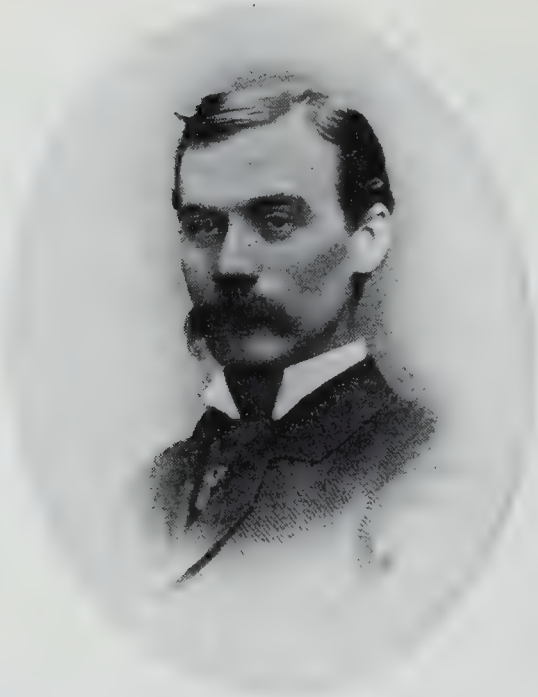
He was A. N. ("A.N.") Spencer, son of Mahlon and Mary Ann (née Little) Spencer, of Quaker descent, who had gone west from New Jersey to Ohio, where my father was born April 10, 1850, at Wilmington. He was the youngest son of a large family and with two brothers, all young men at the time, went south to Texas, where they married and established homes.

My father married Elizabeth McDuffie (1882) at Waxahachie, where they made their home. His early interest was ranching, with cattle in Texas, New Mexico, and Kansas. He himself many times rode the old Chisholm Trail from Texas to Kansas and back, loading cattle at Dodge City and other points. At one time my mother accompanied him, as the "bank" you might say, as she carried the cash from sales. Banks were few in those days, and money was cash in hand.

One adventure is an indication of the early wild days. My father, on one of the cattle drives, awoke one night to find his partner standing over him with a gun, evidently with the intention of shooting to kill and making off with the herd. My father kept perfectly quiet, counting on the man's indecision and lack of courage, if you can call it that. At least it worked out. Morning came and the "drive" continued, my parent much more on the alert, and ridding himself of the man as soon as possible.

When his interests changed my father, always the pioneer, became a railroad contractor with much of his work in Oklahoma Territory. He moved his family from Texas to Oklahoma City (about 1890) a small but thriving town, and acquired property there. Strange to say though, it was not suited to father's imperative ideas, for like Caesar of old, he preferred to be "first in a little Iberian

* Mary Spencer Whitlow has contributed this sketch on her father, Augustus Newton Spencer, a pioneer of Oklahoma City in 1890, the manuscript written in 1956. The story was sent for *The Chronicles* by the writer's husband, Mr. J. A. Whitlow of Tulsa, Oklahoma.—Ed.



AUGUSTUS NEWTON SPENCER
Yukon, Oklahoma Territory, 1890-99

ELIZABETH McDUFFIE SPENCER
Yukon, 1895

village," and as he felt the need for expansion for something of his very own he went west, just fifteen miles, where he founded his own "Iberian village," the little town of Yukon. He secured the land through grants from the U. S. Government, and with a brother, L. M. Spencer, platted the town. He gave the place a name, Yukon, large in context, for the Yukon Territory. For him with his many interests centered there, it became in fact almost a small Yukon Territory. No gold, except through his own efforts in many lines of business.

He organized a bank, becoming its president. He built and operated a flour mill, whose top brand flour to this day, I am told, bears my name as *Yukon's Best*—the "Girl" which my father had added in my honor, has been dropped for ages. He also sold real estate and induced many small businesses to locate there. He also aided in establishing the school system and building the first "Little red school house," in this case a two-story red brick structure for the elementary grades. It still stands I believe. He also found time and interest to represent his district in the territorial legislature, the capital then being at Guthrie.

With all this going on, as well as building railroads he established his family on what came to be a sort of experimental farm on the edge of town. He had built for us a two-story home with more and varied comforts than were then available to most. There was a huge fireplace in the second living room. A veranda, both up and down, around two sides. We children played there, when allowed, and also spread our "palaces" (pallets) there on hot summer nights. There was a huge ice box, handmade, on the enclosed back porch, always full it seems to me now, of huge crocks of milk, worlds of freshly churned butter and many other good things. The things which were not then available in the market or on the farm, my father had brought to us through the "commissary" which was a part of his railroading. There were bunches of bananas, oranges by the crate, lovely white grapes, packed in something resembling fine sawdust, and other excellent food.

We had our own water supply, by way of wells and windmills. It was stored in a large tank and piped to the kitchen and through the yard. It was not available for the second floor facilities, due to lack of pressure but there was a special bathroom built off the rear porch, with a huge tin tub, again hand made and a large cauldron, (with its own stove beneath) for heating the water. From a pump on the porch it was the "hired girl's duty to fill the cauldron, make the fire, transfer the hot water to the tub and immerse the "small fry" from time to time.

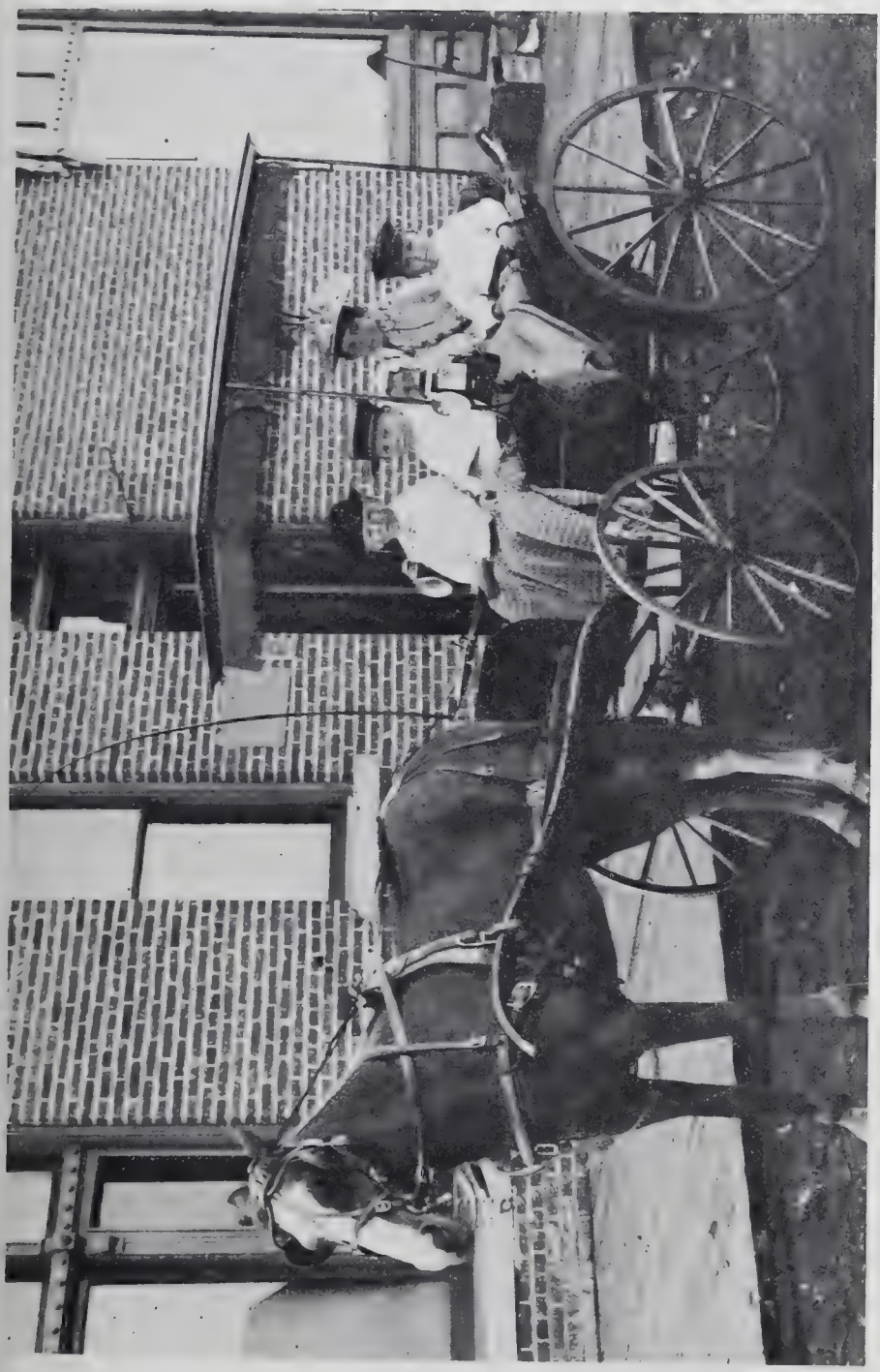
Everything which could be procured for his family's comfort and welfare my father provided. West of the house was planted a grove of shade trees, there were gardens, orchards, vineyards, a melon patch near an outer fence so that the occasional Saturday night (it was the day of the open saloon) gun-toting and shooting, fast riding "boys" from farther afield need not reach so far for their stolen fruits.

Of course there were the usual barns and stables, and in addition a "carriage house," with rooms above. One for the hired girl and one later used as a school room, when we outgrew the grade schools. There was a tutor for us and any other children who might care to enroll. Also a piano teacher who frequently made her home with us.

In the carriage house were two surreys, of course with the fringe on top. One for the family, with its white horse, and one for us children, a very special order. Ours was golden oak and russet leather, russet leather and chrome harness for a roan Indian pony, Dick. Dick could be a saddle pony too, if one were lucky enough to stick on when he made sudden dashes and stops. I remember many dusty flights to the ground, from my side-saddle.

This bit of intimate life was a vital part of a busy man's life. His main business, building railroads, called him from home much of the time, but there was always good people in charge. They frequently took the family to the circus in El Reno or to visit the Indian Schools in Ft. Reno. Also once, I remember to a government "beef-issue" near Ft. Reno. For this the Indians first to collect their portion of beef, killed and issued to them on the spot, a horrible sight. After they had disposed of their portions in various ways, mostly by hanging the meat to dry, they gathered for a stomp dance. The circle might start with eight or ten, stomping and chanting, gradually growing to include hundreds. The little babies strapped to their mothers' backs perforce joined in.

As indicated, my father's main interest was railroad building. He built the Frisco through Sapulpa, Chandler and Stroud, as I remember. One time a cousin and I after visiting a camp-site drove miles and miles through sandy woods to Shawnee to get a train home to Yukon. Then we did not go all the way by train because for a long time that road, first The Oklahoma, Choctaw and Gulf (now Rock Island), stopped at the North Canadian River. Father built that road from Oklahoma City west to the river. When the railroad's money ran out at that point and he failed to collect, he secured the rolling stock and



"Dick" and the Spencer Children's surrey.
Children seated: Mary, the baby—"Yukon's Best Girl"—,
Aubrey, Lewis, Freeman and Christine Spencer

operated the line, continued beyond the river by stage, to Yukon. The "rolling stock" as I remember consisted of an engine, one or two freight cars, and a caboose for passengers.

As a small girl, I was a frequent passenger having friends in Oklahoma City but mainly as "bank messenger" carrying payroll funds. In Oklahoma City I was intrusted with a small black valise or bag, contents unknown to me, and with only the admonition, "Don't let it out of your hands until you can give it to Mr. so and so___," probably at the bank.

Meantime the town grew slowly, the family lived happily, and my father's railroad interests took him farther afield. He built roads both in Indiana and the Union Pacific in Wyoming among others. In time too, as we children grew older he felt the need of better schools for us, as well as a more central location for his expanding business. So, in 1898 we left Yukon, going to Kansas City, Missouri, to make our home. True to country life, we took two cows and the horse and pony with us and were able for a year or so to keep them, even in a city. Some of the neighbors were happy with country cow's milk. This was at what is now 34th and Campbell Streets.

My father lived only three more years dying in January 1901, leaving us, my mother and six children, desolated. He is buried in Forest Hills in Kansas City in the family plot, with three children; two infant daughters and a married daughter, Christine Newcombe. Just two years ago we took my mother there, she having outlived him fifty-two years. She was ninety-three.

After all these many years I can look back on those pioneer small town days as the truly halcyon ones of our family, perfect for the family of growing children, and I can be ever thankful to parents who were far-sighted and wise enough to make them so.

BISHOP FRANCIS CLEMENT KELLEY

By Sister Mary Joachim Oberketter, O.S.B. *

The records of time will never enroll all the achievements of Bishop Kelley, nor tell of the inspiration he has given to countless thousands, nor revealed the weak made strong through his kind and gentle ministrations. This man of God who has spent his life in having the world know Christ, in lifting faces to see the Light, in dispelling darkness with his pen whose passionate cause is Truth, has earned the plaudits of peoples and nations for more than fifty years. But encomiums slip away on the wings of time unless penned in pages.

—Joseph J. Quinn, Editor, *The Southwest Courier.*

Francis Clement Kelley was born on Prince Edward Island, province of Vernon River, in a rural district called Summerville. Although official records give October 23, 1870, as the date of his birth, the Kelley family Bible recorded the event for November 24. His father was John Kelley, country merchant and landowner. His mother, Mary Murphy, was the daughter of an Irish political exile.

When Francis was very young, the family moved to the capital city of Charlottetown where Mr. Kelley was the senior partner in the firm of John Kelley and Company, later Ely and Kelley, merchants and shippers. As a lad at St. Patrick's School, now known as Queen's Square School, Francis had no particularly outstanding qualities to set him apart from the ordinary run of boys unless it was his propensity for organizing societies in which he always held the office of treasurer. Strangely enough, mathematics bored him. English composition and literature were his favorite subjects, and he read everything he could put his hands on.

He continued his education in schools affiliated with Laval University, taking his classical studies at St. Dunstan's College and his philosophy and theology at Nicolet Seminary in the province of Quebec. In *The Bishop Jots It Down* is given an amusing account of his early attempts at journalism while at St. Dunstan's.[2] Here he founded a four-page paper called "Collegium" and served as its business editor until noticeable decline in his school work forced his superiors to suspend him from office. At Nicolet

[1]J. J. Quinn,. "In Loving Dedication to Bishop Kelly." *Southwest Courier,* Golden jubilee ed., Vol. 22 (October 23, 1943).

[2]Kelley, F. C. *The Bishop Jots It Down.* New York, Harper, 1939. p. 22-23.

BISHOP FRANCIS CLEMENT KELLEY

he wrote for recreation and for earning a few dollars for pocket money.

By special permission, Francis Kelley was ordained to the holy priesthood at the age of twenty-two and in the of a little church at Lapeer, Michigan, in the diocese of late summer of that year, 1933, became temporary pastor Detroit. The pastor died three months after Father Kelley arrived, and he succeeded to the place as perhaps one of the youngest pastors ever known. Lonely and afraid, he assumed his responsibilities for a poverty-stricken parish. Upon his departure in 1907, Father Kelley left behind him a new stone church at Lapeer and brick churches in both Union City and Davis City.

It was during his pastorate at Lapeer that Father Kelley sold stories and articles to various magazines in order to have enough money for the necessities of life. It was then, too, that he joined the Lyceum Bureau and travelled extensively, giving lectures under its auspices.

The young priest volunteered for service at the beginning of the Spanish-American War. He was enlisted as chaplain with the rank of captain in the Thirty-second Michigan Regiment. Then he returned to his little parish in Lapeer to continue his struggle against poverty.

Father Kelley's travels with the Lyceum had made him aware that similar poverty existed in innumerable other parishes in small towns and rural districts of the United States. Moreover, he saw Protestant churches in these same communities growing and flourishing on funds contributed by the Protestant Extension Society in the East. In 1905 his now famous "little shanty" article appeared in *The Ecclesiastical Review*. His eloquent description of a missionary's typical rectory in an isolated parish in the West so moved the Catholic reading public that almost over-night interest was aroused.

After several unsuccessful attempts to enthuse some members of the hierarchy, he went to Archbishop James Edward Quigley of Chicago, who saw the possibilities in Father Kelley's idea and called a meeting at his home on October 18, 1905. There was born the Catholic Church Extension Society, an organization devoted primarily to the cause of the home missions. So phenomenal was the growth of the Society that by 1907 it was necessary to move the offices from Lapeer to Chicago, which from that time has remained the official headquarters of the organization. Father Kelley was elected first president, serving in that capacity for nineteen years until his appointment to

the diocese of Oklahoma made his resignation imperative. As head of Extension, he raised its receipts from some $7,000 a year to almost a million. With these funds more than five thousand churches and numerous schools have been erected and maintained in the poor mission districts of our country. Two-thirds of the dioceses in the United States are indebted to the Society for financial help.

Through Father Kelley's inspiration and help, a similar Extension Society was organized in 1908 for Canada. Besides easing the poverty of the far-flung Canadian missions, it has been responsible for preserving the faith of 200,000 Ukrainian Catholics.

If Bishop Kelley had accomplished nothing else by the foundation of the Catholic Church Extension Society, he would be entitled to the everlasting gratitude of the Church in the United States and Mexico. Summarizing "Extension Kelley's" accomplishments, Archbishop O'Brien compares him to St. Paul, St. Ignatius Loyola, and St. Vincent de Paul, all of whom influenced thousands to take up the work of Christ.[3]

Realizing the need for an organ to spread appeals for his mission work, Father Kelley, in 1906, founded and edited *The Extension Magazine.* A year later it was changed from a quarterly to a monthly, and it soon boasted the largest circulation of any Catholic magazine in the country. The mushroom growth of this publication was due to the dynamic power and to the literary skill of the man behind it.

Despite his multitude of jobs as President of the Extension Society and editor-in-chief of *The Extension Magazine,* Father Kelley found time to serve as pastor of St. Francis Xavier Church in Wilmette, twelve miles north of Chicago, and to continue his travels with various Chautauqua groups in order to earn extra funds for his rapidly-growing mission projects.

To describe all of Father Kelley's activities in the Extension Society would necessitate the writing of a lengthy book. His more outstanding activities are the establishment of Pullman chapel cars to bring Mass and the Sacrament to isolated rural areas; his "cabinet chapels" for hotels in national parks so that tourists would not miss Sunday service; his establishment of a special department to collect and renovate vestments and church furnishings for needy parishes; and his idea for founding a woman's

[3]W. D. O'Brien. "Nineteen Years of Church Extension." *Extension Magazine,* Vol. 19 (November, 1924), pp. 5-6.

auxiliary now known as the Order of Martha. His own account, *The Story of Extension,* published in 1922, could be supplemented with later issues of *The Extension Magazine* to give a complete picture of the Society's contributions to the Church in America.

One chapter in the story, however, must not go unmentioned. In 1915 when bloody persecution against the Catholic Church raged in Mexico, Msgr. Kelley, with the approval of Archbishop Quigley, hurried to Texas to answer the appeals of exiled bishops, priests, and nuns who had escaped in disguise and were suffering great privations. Since the Church in Texas was too poor to help, Msgr. Kelley used Extension funds to secure clothing and to provide lodging for the exiles. With the help of other interested members of the hierarchy, St. Philip's Seminary for Mexican boys was established in Castroville, Texas. About one hundred priests came forth from that seminary, exiled priests and professors taught without pay, and the Extension Society liquidated all the bills from funds collected through Msgr. Keley's appeals in *The Extension Magazine.* At the end of three years St. Philip's was discontinued because some of the seminaries in Mexico were permitted to reopen.

Msgr. Kelley's interest in Mexico did not stop there, however. By study and by frequent conversations with many Mexican prelates, priests, and other exiles, he learned the situation in Mexico thoroughly. Then he took up his pen to defend the Church, to denounce the tyrants responsible for the wholesale war on religion, and even to expose the unethical stand taken by our own government in pretending to oppose intervention. Msgr. Kelley made trips to Washington in an attempt to influence top-ranking officials to come to the aid of Mexico. He succeeded in interesting Theodore Roosevelt, who wrote a scathing article against the revolutionists. When J. P. Tumulty, secretary to President Wilson, issued a letter denying or minimizing reports of outrages against religious persons in Mexico, Msgr. Kelley responded in hot indignation with the book entitled *The Book of Red and Yellow.*

Although the persecution in Mexico subsided, it broke forth from time to time over a period of ten or more years. Msgr. Kelley's interest in the matter continued when he became Bishop Kelley. He persisted in gathering testimony, read and studied Mexican church history, and in 1935 launched his book, *Blood-drenched Altars.* The American hierarchy, stirred by the revelations of his book, quickly took action. In their "Pastoral Letter on Mexico by the

American Hierarchy," composed by Bishop Kelley, they took a definite stand against the atheistic politicians in Mexico. The publication of this pastoral resulted in the receipt of a sum approaching a million dollars to found a seminary at Montezuma, New Mexico, under the protection of the American flag. Here Mexican youths are highly educated and trained, returning to their native country well esuipped to meet the challenge of the Communist influence still prevalent there. Although much remains to be done before the Mexican people can boast of religious freedom, notable progress has been achieved. Bishop Kelley, treasurer for the Montezuma Seminary, played no small part in this achievement.

Pursuing his interest in minority groups, Msgr. Kelley attended the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. It was he who proposed Article XIX in the Covenant of the League of Nations, an article barring membership to nations refusing liberty of conscience to their peoples. His proposition was called "quite sound, even desirable," but when it met opposition from part of the Big Four, President Wilson withdrew his support, and the article was finally dropped from the Covenant.

One very successful and important achievement grew out of Bishop Kelley's presence at the Versailles Conference. While in Paris he initiated with Premier Orlando of Italy negotiations for a settlement of the Roman Question. The proposals were taken up by Archbishop Ceretti, Under-Secretary of State to the Vatican, and carried on successfully until the Orlando government fell from power. These preliminaries, however, cleared the way and led to the permanent settlement of the Roman Question in 1928. The review *Vita e Pensiero,* published by the University of the Sacred Heart at Milan, printed a report of Msgr. Kelley's original discussions, showing how his ideas were used ten years later as a basis of settlement.

Father Kelley was known for his eloquence as a public speaker from his early years in the priesthood. He was frequently called upon to deliver lectures and sermons at prominent church and civic functions. He was chosen to speak at the first American Catholic Missionary Congress in Chicago, 1908, as well as at the second meeting in Boston five years later. One of the greatest privileges of his life was to preach the funeral sermon for Mother Cabrini, now a canonized saint. Bishop Kelley's name may be found on the list of speakers at the 28th International Eucharistic Congress in Chicago, 1926, and at the National Eucharistic Congress in Cleveland, 1935, New Orleans, 1938, and St.

Paul, 1941. In 1936 he spoke at Pitt Stadium, Pittsburgh, before 85,000 Catholic men gathered to honor the Blessed Sacrament. One of his sermons, "Conversation with an Electric Fan," was included in an anthology, *The Best Sermons of 1943-44,* edited by Dr. G. Paul Butler. The late Bishop Francis Magner of Marquette, Michigan, who served as an assistant to Msgr. Kelley at Wilmette, paid tribute to his ability as an orator in these words: [4]

> No Cathedral of all America ever echoed to more inspiring sermons than did the little church at Wilmette. I often wondered if Paul of Tarsus received greater attention from his listeners. Monsignor Kelley loved to take St. Paul's great sermon on Charity for his text. The glowing faces of his audience, as the people left the church at the close of Mass, told how deeply his own sense of Charity had communicated itself in the very souls of his parishoners.

Upon the death of Oklahoma's first bishop, Theophile Meerschaert, February, 1924, the Pope appointed Msgr. Kelley to that See. Cardinal Mundelein officiated at the consecration in Chicago and accompanied the new bishop to Oklahoma City for his installation. That night a mammoth reception was held at the Coliseum, about 10,000 persons attending to greet the new bishop.

In his twenty-four years in the diocese of Oklahoma City-Tulsa, Bishop Kelley continued his usual outstanding accomplishments. Under his leadership more than 60 churches and 6 hospitals were erected, 20 new schools were founded, and the number of clergy almost doubled. The Catholic population of Oklahoma increased by 10,000 from 1930 to 1940, his diocese winning a record of making more converts, proportionately, than any other in the United States. He established a central office of Associated Catholic Charities to cover the whole state, Our Lady of Victory Maternity Home and Nursery in Oklahoma City, and St. John Vianney Training School for Girls near Tulsa. Under his direction St. Joseph's Orphanage and the old folks department were enlarged. Bishop Kelley's great charities made him dearer to the masses of the people than anything else he did in the diocese.

Numerous honors and distinctions were conferred on the Bishop from time to time throughout his lengthy career. In 1907 when still called Father Kelley, he received an L.L.D. degree from the University of Notre Dame. A year later Laval University bestowed upon him a Doctorate of Sacred Theology. At the celebration of Louvain University's 500th anniversary in 1927, in an atmosphere of medieval

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[4] F. J. Magner, "Bishop Kelley—A Magnificent Ideal." *Southwest Courier,* Golden jubilee ed., Vol. 22 (October 23, 1923), p. 13.

pomp and splendor, and in the presence of the King and Queen of Belgium, Bishop Kelley was honored for his work as founder of the Extension Society with two degrees, Ph.D. and Litt.D.

In 1931 the Great Golden Cross of Merit was conferred upon him by the President of Austria in recognition of the part he played while still President of Extension, in Austrian relief work following the First World War. He also received the Grand Cross of Sts. Maurice and Lazarus from the Italian government for his work on the Roman Question, and his book, *Blood-drenched Altars,* brought him the Grand Catholic Cross of Isabella from Spain. He was a member of the Roman Commission of Arcadia, Prior of the Western Lieutenancy of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, and a Prelate of the Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem.

In 1939 Bishop Kelley was one of seven persons honored with the Award of the Silver Buffalo by the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America for "distinguished service to boyhood." As Chairman of the Catholic Committee on Scouting, Bishop Kelley had devised a plan for nation-wide Catholic participation in scouting. So effective was this plan that it was adopted and fostered by the Hierarchy. Through his influence scouting became one of the major elements in the Catholic Youth Program of America.

Bishop Kelley was likewise honored by the officials of Oklahoma, when in April, 1933, he was appointed by Governor William H. Murray to head a fifteen-member coordination committee to plan a program affecting the higher educational system of the state. At the request of the Governor, Bishop Kelley made a trip to Canada to study the universities and colleges in Ontario and Quebec. In his report before an audience of 550 leading state educators, officials, and business men, the Bishop explained his ideas for making moral training a part of the educational program. Three years later Governor Marland appointed him a member of the Public Welfare Commission to administer the State's old age pension and social security fund.

Two best-selling works of Catholic fiction by the same author in a single year is a remarkable record for any man to achieve. When the writer is a bishop, whose episcopal duties claim much of his time, it is a feat. Bishop Kelley accomplished this unusual achievement when his books, *Pack Rat* and *Tales from the Rectory* both appeared on the best-seller "Book Log" of the magazine, *America,* every

week for many months. His *Letters to Jack,* written in 1917, has been reprinted ten times and was revised and reprinted again in 1939. It is still recommended for young men in the Catholic supplement to the *Standard Catalog for High School Libraries* and has been translated into Spanish.

Besides numerous books and pamphlets and hundreds of articles for *The Extension Magazine,* Bishop Kelley has produced many other worthwhile writings in well-known periodicals both in the United States and abroad. There has been a continuous stream of writing from his pen throughout his long life, and he has never hesitated to use his literary ability to champion a just cause. Versatile and prolific in his writings, he showed unusual skill at pathos and humor, realism and imagery. Few persons had a greater storehouse of experiences and entertaining anecdotes. His memory was fairly packed with thousands of incidents concerning great men, facts of history and of the Church, legends and tales, all of which he could pull out of memory's hat like a magician to fascinate his reading or listening audiences.

Bishop Kelley's type of literature is simple and yet profound, entertaining and yet always pointing a lesson. Whether he was writing a novel, such as *Charred Wood* (1917) or short stories like those found in *Tales from the Rectory* (1943) or fanciful imagery as in *When the Veil Is Rent* (1929) he was always mindful of his role as missionary. He himself stated this purpose many times. In an autobigraphical sketch prepared for *The Book of Catholic Authors,* he says:[5]

> I wrote to preach, for the printed word goes far and its influence never entirely passes. It works even when the one who sent it forth to life and action has himself gone forth from life and action. It makes for him a second life. That is the point; a second life with merit gathered after the harvest seemed over, with the grain in the barn. Why do I persist in writing? Simply because I desire to persist in preaching with an eye on that second life.

Although Bishop Kelley showed mastery in writing editorials, satire, religious instructions, history, and fantasy, it is the general opinion of critics that his book, *The Bishop Jots It Down,* is his greatest work. Percy Hutchison, in a review for the *New York Times,* writes:[6]

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[5]Kelley, F. C. Autobiography in Romig, Walter, ed. *Book of Catholic Authors* (2nd series), p. 163. Detroit, Romig & Co., 1943.

[6]Hutchison, Percy. "Memoirs of a Genial Bishop." *New York Times Book Review* (July 30, 1939), p. 12.

The Bishop Jots It Down is a vitalized monument not only for its author, but also to a chapter in American history too little known generally. The intimate portraits of Popes and Cardinals, Presidents, Bishops and pastors faithfully doing their work with subsequent honors possible for only a minority form a gallery not to be duplicated. It is an exceptionally fine piece of autobiographical writing.

In August, 1943, Bishop Kelley, then ill, celebrated his golden jubilee as a priest by disposing of all his personal possessions. All revenues from his books were given to an unnamed charity, $20,000 and much of his own library to St. Dunstan College, Prince Edward Island. He preferred to end his priestly life as poor as he had been when he began it in Lapeer in 1893. Because of his weak physical condition, no celebration of the jubilee could be held until November 26, when a few distinguished members of the hierarchy from the United States, Canada and Mexico gathered at the episcopal residence to pay him honor. Letters of felicitation came from Pope Pius XII, President Roosevelt, cardinals, bishops, priests, and laymen all over the world.

Bishop Kelley made his last public appearance at the installation luncheon and reception for Bishop McGuinness as coadjutor bishop of Oklahoma City-Tulsa on January 10, 1945. The grand old Bishop, slightly bent but with head held high, brought forth spontaneous applause born of reverence, love, and deep-seated admiration when he walked into the Skirvin Hotel dining room to greet his old friend, Bishop Eugene McGuiness, and welcomed him to the diocese.

For three years Bishop Kelley lingered on. Even while an invalid, he took up his pen once more to write an article on behalf of the nursing profession. Inspired by the very efficient care he himself was receiving from the Alexian Brothers who attended him, and foreseeing the growing need for nurses after World War II, he urged young Catholic men and women to choose nursing as a profession.[7]

On February 1, 1948, Bishop Kelley died. The list of distinguished churchmen and civic leaders who attended the funeral services at the Cathedral of Our Lady, Oklahoma City, as well as the numerous tributes printed in newspapers and magazines throughout the nation and abroad are ample testimony to his greatness. They represent the world's final gesture to a great soul.

The selection of the many printed statements about the Bishop is difficult but, perhaps, that of Richard Reid,

[7]F. C. Kelley. "Nursing Orders; Their Origins and Needs." *America*, Vol. 72 (November 4, 1944), p. 89.

well-known Catholic newspaperman, summarizes as well as any the place that the Bishop holds in American church history. Writing at the time of Bishop Kelley's golden jubilee, Mr. Reid states:[8]

In the 153 years since the consecration of Archbishop Carroll, 500 Bishops have graced the American hierarchy. In scholarship, in culture, in intellectual attainments and above all in character they constitute the most distinguished single group in the annuals of the nation. But in the entire five hundred years we look in vain for another with the particular qualities of mind and heart and with the distinctive combination of achievements of the beloved Bishop Francis Clement Kelley.

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[8]Richard Reid, "Enrolled Among Great Americans," *Southwest Courier*, Golden jubilee ed., v. 22 (October 22, 1943), p. 37.

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A bibliography of the Bishop's writings (articles, stories, books) with an introductory biographical sketch of him has been completed by Sister Mary Joachim, O. S. B., in manuscript. She has generously presented copies of these manuscripts bound as one volume to the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society. This complete bibliography of Bishop Kelley's writings points out his eminent position among American churchmen and scholars of his time, and also contains a large section of material on his life and activities aside from his works as a writer.—Ed.

OKLAHOMA AND THE ANTI-EVOLUTION MOVEMENT OF THE 1920's

*By Elbert L. Watson**

In February, 1923, newly elected Representative J. L. Watson of Sequoyah County declared before the Oklahoma House of Representatives that he had "promised my people at home that if I had a chance to down this hellish Darwin here that I would do it. . . If you want to be a monkey, go out and be a monkey, but I am for this amendment and will strike this infernal thing while I can."[1] Watson, thus, endorsed an amendment against the teaching of evolution in Oklahoma's public schools, and keynoted the tenor of battle to be waged on the theory during the 1920's.

Oklahoma's conflict over evolution was only one phase of a wide-spread battle that had been developing along with the spread of new scientific ideas, which challenged fundamental standards of religious orthodoxy following World War I. Among the most notable of these ideas was Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, identifying man with some species of monkeys akin to anthropoid apes. Darwin affirmed that life was a fight against innumerable detrimental conditions, and only those who adjusted themselves to the existing environment could survive. When his book, *Origin of the Species,* was introduced into the United States in 1860, it was rebuffed by practically every religious group, except the Catholics and Unitarians. Gradually, however, the growth of modernism within prominent Christian bodies made it easier for American churches to accept many of the new claims.

The South and Southwest, however, did not yield rapidly to the new tenets of scientific thought. Firmly entrenched fundamentalist Protestants in those sections

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* This article on the anti-evolution movement in Oklahoma is the outgrowth of a paper on this same movement in the South prepared in one of Dr. John Ezell's seminar classes by Elbert L. Watson a graduate student at The University of Oklahoma. Mr. Watson has his M. A. in history from the University in 1954. He is present Senior Archivist, Preparation Section, Tennessee State Library and Archives, and also serves as the Secretary of the Tennessee Historical Society. Mr. Watson makes special acknowledgements in having gathered most of the material for his paper and his master's thesis in the Newspaper Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society, with the direction of Mrs. Louise Cook in charge of this Department. —Ed.

[1] *Tulsa World,* February 22, 1923, p. 2.

uncompromisingly maintained the literal interpretation of the Scriptures, and regarded any contrary opinion as being tantamount to a denial of the existence of God. Cognizant of modernistic encroachments, they fought with every religious and legislative force at their command.[2]

The modern aspects of the anti-evolution movement opened in South Carolina's 1921 legislature when the senate unanimously attached a rider to the general appropriation bill, providing that money earmarked for educational purposes could not be given to schools teaching the theory. The amendment, however, was later removed by a joint committee and never reintroduced.[3]

An active campaign developed the following January in Kentucky where William Jennings Bryan, the Great Commoner, inspired fundamentalists to widespread zeal and action with several public appearances, one of which was before a cheering, applauding crowd in Lexington. Several days later a bill forbidding the teaching of evolution in public schools was introduced in the house, but was defeated 42 to 41 despite a heated debate.[4]

As a result of these failures, Oklahoma, consequently, became the first state to pass any kind of legislation against the teaching of evolution in the public schools. The battle was enjoined during the early 1923 session with the routine introduction in the House of *Bill 197* carrying an educational appropriation of $2,250,000. Acknowledged as an administration measure, the Bill provided among other things for an earmark of $750,000 for the purchase by the state of all textbooks used in the schools to the twelfth grade.[5] However, Representative J. L. Montgomery of Caddo immediately introduced an amendment stating: "Provided: That no copyright shall be purchased, nor any textbook adopted, that teaches the materialistic conception of history or the Darwinian theory against the Bible conception of creation."[6]

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[2]In some communities, like Etowah County, Alabama, it was not uncommon for a local minister to be elected as a state legislator. The Reverend C. O. Thompson of Gadsden was a militant Fundamentalist in the state legislature during the 1920's. He introduced several anti-evolution bills but was severely criticised both in his home county and throughout the state. Gadsden (Alabama) *Times*, January 27, 1927, p. 4.

[3]"Anti-Evolution Legislation in the Various States," *Science*, n.s., Vol. LXI (May 29, 1925), pp. x-xii.

[4]Alonzo W. Fortune, "Kentucky Campaign Against the Teaching of Evolution," *Journal of Religion* Vol. II (May, 1922), pp. 225-29.

[5]*Tulsa World*, February 22, 1923, p. 1.

[6]*Ibid.*

Montgomery's amendment reportedly struck the house like a "thunderclap" and a chaotic session ensued.[7] E .P. White, a farmer-labor member, assailed the amendment by declaring: "The man who wrote that amendment is not a saint, and the men talking about the Bible here are not saints either. Go down to the hotel lobbies with 'em [*sic*] and see for yourself if that bunch doesn't act like a bunch of monkeys at times."[8] Saints or not, the Montgomery forces prevailed and the amendment swept through the house by a vote of 87 to 2.[9] Some legislators probably supported the amendment rather than risk jeopardizing passage of the entire educational appropriation measure.

Oklahoma's metropolitan newspapers made little effort to veil their disapproval of the amendment, particularly the *Tulsa Tribune* which commented: [10]

> Don Quixote never charged upon one of the offending windmills with greater ardor than a majority of the state representatives displayed Wednesday in the triumphant attack on Darwinism. The legislators... flung the Darwinian theory to the breeze, riddled it with fierce denunciation, then consigned it to a disgraceful oblivion in the gloomiest nook of Pluto's realm.

The Oklahoma Baptist Sunday School Convention, in session at Oklahoma City, however, viewed the house action in a different light and passed resolutions of commendation. The *Baptist Messenger,* their Oklahoma state publication, used the occasion to reprimand Dr. H. D. Fox of the Park Congregational Church and Dr. Forney Hutchinson of St. Luke's Methodist Church in Oklahoma City for their beliefs on evolution. The *Messenger* reported Dr. Hutchinson as a believer in the Darwinian theory, and quoted Dr. Fox as ridiculing the legislature by saying that it was 2,000 years behind times.[11]

A strenuous fight for passage of the amendment took place in the Senate, where it was finally voted through 16 to 12. Jed Johnson of Walters spearheaded the attack by insisting on retention of the rider without modification. He stressed that a majority of Oklahoma's church members opposed the teaching of evolution in the public schools.

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[7] *Daily Oklahoman,* February 22, 1923, p. 1.

[8] *Tulsa World,* February 22, 1923, p. 2.

[9] Anna Laskey of Oklahoma County and Leslie I. Ray of Laverne voted against the amendment.

[10] *Tulsa Tribune,* February 24, 1923, p. 22.

[11] *Baptist Messenger,* XI (February 23, 1923), 3. The journal "regretted" that religious leaders held such views. Without calling names, the *Oklahoma Methodist* replied by denouncing Fundamentalists as "religious militarists" who have been discourteous to Methodist leaders. *Oklahoma Methodist,* III, (May 23, 1923), p. 1.

Ed. M. Reed of Elk City submitted a stronger amendment "which sought to withhold state aid from any school which permits books containing any but the biblical account of creation to be taught.[12]

Arguing with equal vigor against inclusion of the Montgomery amendment was Guthrie's senator, John Golobie, who claimed that it ignored scientific advancements. A. E. Darnell of Clinton supported him and presented a facetious amendment to exclude fairy tales from school books. Senator Tom Anglin attempted a compromise with his amendment providing that sciences contrary to the Genesis account could be taught as a theory but not as truth.[13]

When adopted, *House Bill 197* carried an appropriation of $950,000, a cut of $1,300,000 from the previous figure. Fundamentalists throughout the state hailed inclusion of the Montgomery amendment, and the Oklahoma *Methodist,* which had taken no specific stand on the issue, refuted the theory as being "unbiblical."[14] The amendment was legally in effect until 1926.[15]

Oklahoma and the Scopes Trial

In the meantime the battle was going on in other parts, particularly in Tennessee where anti-evolutionists gained international publicity in July, 1925, when John Thomas Scopes, an obscure biology teacher in Dayton was convicted of violating that state's newly passed "monkey law."[16] Summer tourists swarmed on Dayton to attend the trial, featuring the commanding personalities of Bryan for the prosecution, and Clarence Darrow, the noted criminal lawyer, serving for the defense. Scopes, the defendant, became a national figure and was entertained in New York City by distinguished scientists, among them Dr. Henry Fairchild Osborn, director of the Museum of Natural History.[17]

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[12] *Tulsa World,* March 21, 1923, p. 1.

[13] *Ibid.,* p. 2.

[14] *Oklahoma Methodist,* Vol. III (April 12, 1923), p. 4. The periodical added that the "theory creates a disregard for authority, its results are lawlessness and destruction of the faith of many in the fundamentals of our Christian religion."

[15] Maynard Shipley, "A Year of the Monkey," *Independent,* Vol. CXIX (November 16, 1926), pp. 326-27.

[16] Passed in March, 1925, the bill provided for a fine of not less than $100.00 and not more than $500.00 and dismissal from the teaching position. Prompted by a friend, Dr. George Rappelyea, Scopes violated the law to test its validity in court.

[17] *Daily Oklahoman,* June 9, 1925, p. 1.

Oklahoma newspapers gave wide coverage to this trial, indicating that the state remained deeply interested in the evolution issue. A front page feature story in the *Daily Oklahoman* told of a monkey born in the city zoo and named "Darwin." Joe H. Patterson, the commissioner of property, thought it was a "case of evolution turned inside out. The mother had the good-old-fashioned name of Mollie; her husband was named in accordance with modern tendencies, Jellybean. Their baby is Darwin."[18] Humorous cartoons were carried on the editorial pages. Edith Johnson, a writer for the *Oklahoman,* referred to the trial as a "circus."[19]

Local and state political leaders were involved in the Scopes discussion. At Poland Springs, Maine, where the nation's governors were having their annual conclave, Governor M. E. Trapp was queried about the evolution issue, to which he indifferently responded: "The question is of no consequence as far as I can see. It does not affect our country's progress."[20] O. A. Cargill, mayor of Oklahoma City, and attorney John Tomerlin, an evolutionist, planned to attend the Dayton trial together. Good friends that they were, both men frequently discussed the subject and had recently exchanged gifts of a Bible and a book on evolution. Enroute to Dayton, Mayor Cargill became ill at Memphis and returned home. Two days later Tomerlin wired him: "Have been offered employment by both sides but don't want to make a monkey out of myself. What shall I do?" Cargill replied: "Come home. Oklahoma City has abandoned the theory that man came from monkey, and is advocating that evolutionists are descended from Balaam's only zoo animal."[21]

Before the trial was over, however, an article appearing in the *Oklahoman* injected bigotry into the light vein of discussion. The writer, H. L. Mencken of the Baltimore *Sun,* covered the trial and used the occasion to make an unusual personal attack upon bigotry, by referring to Bryan as being "full of nonsense, mangy, and flea-bitten." He described Baptist ministers as "clowns," and denounced Tennessee's legislators as "cheap job seekers and ignora-

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[18] *Ibid.,* June 4, 1925, 1. The newspaper ran the following three bank headline: "Mollie, the Monk, Resents Kinship Claim;" "Sage Zoo Mother Sees Piteous Decline In Race Since Adam Quit Tossing Coconuts"; "Defendent In Evolution Trial Has Say."

[19] *Ibid.,* July 10, 1925, p. 1.

[20] *Ibid.,* July 2, 1925, p. 1. Several other governors were more specific in their views. Trumbull of Connectticut said that Tennessee was still living 1000 years in the past.

[21] *Ibid.,* July 14, 1925, p. 1.

muses." Governor Austin Peay of Tennessee was described as "a politician ten times cheaper and trashier than the legislature." Inundated with protests, the *Oklahoman* the next day carried a front page editorial stating that Mencken's syndicated column had been discontinued because he "went beyond the limits of reasonable and tolerant criticism."[22]

Evolution, apparently, was not an important factor in the repeal of *House Bill 197* in 1926. At the opening session of the Ninth Legislature in January, 1927, however, an evolution bill, patterned after the Tennessee law, was introduced in the house by C. D. Webber, A. N. Leecraft, and W. R. Trent. It stipulated a fine of not less than $100.00 nor more than $500.00 on any teacher guilty of teaching man's descendance from a lower order of animals. To this, the *Oklahoman* dismally commented:[23]

> The *Daily Oklahoman* is not going to register the least bit of excitement when, and if, our honorable legislature passes the bill forbidding the teaching of evolution in our lusty young state. But the *Daily Oklahoman* is going to be vastly surprised if the first impulse of the public is not to buy every book on evolution that has ever been printed .... For .... in spite of all the laws seeking to handcuff the brains of men, they will go right on thinking, and their first thought is liable to be that the authors of this evolution law are a wee bit asinine.

Additional action was delayed until February 25 when the committee report returned the Bill to the floor where it was killed, 46 to 30. David Logan of Okmulgee moved that the Bill be stricken from the calendar, and its reconsideration was tabled on a motion by J. A. Watson of Bristow, thus removing the Bill from additional debate during the session. The *Oklahoman* sighed with relief and praised the legislators by saying:[24]

> Oklahoma and her future were served admirably when the house of representatives killed the anti-evolution bill. The defeat of the measure does not mean that Oklahoma has placed her approval on any certain theory of science; it does mean that the state has refused to set metes and bounds to the realm of knowledge. It is recognition of the important truth that any legal prescription of what shall be taught is tantamount to a declaration of what people shall think. It declares that the minds and consciences of Oklahomans shall remain free.

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[22] *Ibid.*, July 15, 1925, p. 1. Scope's conviction was a foregone conclusion when the presiding judge ruled that the question at stake was whether or not he had taught evolution.

[23] *Ibid.*, January 15, 1927, p. 8.

[24] *Ibid.*, February 27, 1927, p. 10-C.

Aggressive Fundamentalists to the Forefront

Defeat of the Bill, however, seemed to shake militant fundamentalists into a determined, though uncordinated, program, which brought serious repercussions to the Baptist denomination, the principal contributor to the crusade. Discordant notes were first sounded at the Baptist State Convention in November, 1926, when Dr. C. C. Morris pushed through a resolution to withhold funds from Baptist schools employing faculty members with liberal evolutionary views. The Morris resolution stipulated that: [25-26]

> Since the Southern Baptist Convention at its session held at Houston in May, 1926, passed the Tull Resolution, the substance of which was that faculty members of Southwide institutions and representatives of other Southwide interests be requested to sign up as endorsing the McDaniel statements[25] concerning the Genesis account of Creation, we, the Baptist General Convention in session assembled, hereby instruct our Corresponding Secretary to withhold the prorata of undesignated funds from such institutions and interests until such time as they shall sign up in accordance with the above request of the Southern Baptist Convention.

Although the resolution passed, there was considerable dissatisfaction with it during the ensuing year. Consequently, it was a principal issue at the State Convention in November, 1927, and sparked a two hour debate which ended in the rejection of a substitute motion 548 to 139.[27]

The *Baptist Messenger* was drawn directly into the controversy when the editor, the Reverend C. P. Stealy, was removed by the General State Conference because, it was claimed, his editorial policy created disunity among Oklahoma Baptists. Stealy vigorously denied the charge and denounced leading Baptist officials by saying: "I am being kicked out because I have torn away the camouflage and shown up some of the modernists in the ministry. They say they are fundamentalists but that is for consumption of the common Baptists.[28]

Meanwhile, in Oklahoma City the Reverend Mordicai F. Ham, pastor of the First Baptist Church, began pushing his plan for bringing the anti-evolution cause to the

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[25] The McDaniel Statement declared: "This convention accepts Genesis as teaching that man was the special creation of God and rejects every theory, evolution or otherwise, which teaches that man originated in or came by way of a lower animal ancestry." *Baptist Messenger*, Vol. XV (November 9, 1927), p. 1.

[26] The fight for passage of the resolution began about five years earlier and had been debated in annual conventions. Release of the McDaniel Statement gave added strength to proponents.—*Harlow's Weekly*, Vol. XXXII (April 7, 1928), p. 5.

[27] *Baptist Messenger*, Vol. XV (November 9, 1927), p. 1.

[28] *Harlow's Weekly*, Vol. XXXI (December 31, 1927), p. 31.

forefront during 1928. He predicted that "Oklahoma soon will find itself in the midst of the greatest fight in the state's history. I speak of the impending clash of the fundamentalists and modernists."[29] Assisting in the organization was Dr. W. B. Riley, President of the World's Christian Fundamentals Association, who visited the state for several speeches and to offer counsel. He observed that "an overwhelming majority of the church people of Oklahoma now are in favor of an anti-evolution law but the 'liberals' hold the offices, while university and college leaders throughout the country are almost as a unit in opposing the fundamentalists."[30]

In January, 1928, the Reverend Ham verbally attacked the University of Oklahoma and its president, Dr. William Bennett Bizzell, claiming that "Red" money of Soviet Russia was responsible for the teaching of evolution at the institution. Expressing confidence that modernism would eventually be destroyed he added:[31]

> I do not say that Dr. Bizzell is a willing tool of the bolsheviks. I do say that he, along with the rest of the college presidents of the United States who permit the so-called scientific teaching of Darwinism in their schools are dupes of a great system born in Russia... The modernist will not succeed. One of these fine days there will be a terrific upheaval. The fundamentalists will rebel and all of the schools, the modernistic churches, and newspapers will be cast into the junk heap.

On the other hand, Bishop Francis C. Kelley of the Diocese of Oklahoma, spoke against the anti-evolution campaign and expressed concern over the "useless fighting" being done among religious people. In his opinion the theory could not be proved, and even if it could, he believed that it would not dethrone God as the "Creator of all things."[32]

Despite persistent efforts by the fundamentalists, no anti-evolution bill was introduced in the 1928 legislature. In March, however, the American Baptist Association in session at Oklahoma City passed a strongly worded resolution which stated:[33]

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[29] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI (December 3, 1927), p. 13. Reverend Ham actively participated in Oklahoma politics during this decade. In the 1928 presidential campaign he vigorously opposed Al Smith both as a wet and a Catholic.

[30] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI (November 26, 1927), p. 14. Dr. Riley was also pastor of the Minneapolis, Minnesota, First Baptist Church.

[31] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII (January 14, 1928), p. 14.

[32] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII (January 14, 1928), p. 14.

[33] *Daily Oklahoman*, March 8, 1928, p. 1.

Resolved that we place ourselves on record as being opposed to the theory of evolution which teaches that mankind descended from some lower order of animal and that we recommend to the churches that they give no encouragement to any [preacher] or teacher who may hold to that theory;

Second, that we use all diligence to circulate literature against the theory and that we seek to prevent any teacher from teaching in tax-supported schools who may believe the theory to be true;
Third, that we encourage legislation which will prohibit the theory of evolution being taught in our tax-supported schools.

During the latter part of March, Dr. John Roach Straton,[34] pastor of New York City's Calvary Baptist Church and noted as America's leading fundamentalist minister, gave five anti-evolution lectures at Oklahoma City's First Baptist Church.[35] In these addresses he made fervent and powerful appeals for action to obtain laws against teaching the theory in the public schools. Although disagreeing with him, the *Oklahoman* regarded the New Yorker as a "commanding personality" who was a "convincing speaker."[36] Strong criticism came from Victor E. Harlow, editor of *Harlow's Weekly*, who bluntly assailed Straton for attempting to revert civilization back to the Middle Ages. Straton dismissed this accusation by offering to debate the subject with Harlow.[37] An unexpected discordant note on the Straton visit was also sounded by the *Baptist Messenger*, whose new editor, the Reverend J. B. Rounds, wrote:[38]

For me to indicate that heresy might exist among the fundamentalists looks like the most extreme and absurd of charges. But when Dr. W. B. Riley was in Oklahoma City he said Southern Baptists would have to give up one thing, namely, their close and narrow view of Baptist churches as the New Testament body. He said all Fundamentalists should get together. Now Dr. John Roach Straton of New York has been in Oklahoma City and he says denominationalism should be surrendered and all Fundamentalists get together... I have this to offer of the great Fundamentalist movement ... I have never heard one of them give a masterful, soul-stirring address on the glories of the church. They confuse church and kingdom and they interpret the church sometimes as an intangible something, but they do not give what to me is the true New Testament church idea, that

[34] Dr. Straton visited Oklahoma again in September to denounce Al Smith's candidacy for the presidency.

[35] The subjects of the lectures were as follows: (1) God versus Chance; (2) Is the World a Creation or Did It Just Happen So? (3) Is Man a Child of God or a Highly Developed Monkey? (4) Monkey Men and Monkey Morals, or the Result of Evolution and the Ethical Collapse of Today; (5) Is the Theory of Evolution Incompatible With Christian Religion? He delivered this same series in Tulsa.—*Daily Oklahoman*, March 9, 1928, p. 1.

[36] *Ibid.*, March 19, 1928, p. 2.

[37] *Ibid.*, March 20, 1928, p. 11.

[38] J. B. Rounds, "The Fly In the Ointment or the Heresy In Fundamentalism," *Baptist Messenger*, Vol. XV (April 5, 1928), p. 8.

is so plainly taught and so clearly meant in the Bible... I resent the loose and careless handling of New Testament churches by our Fundamentalists that seek the support of Southern Baptists.

One week after Dr. Straton's visit, the Reverend Leon M. Birkhead of the All Souls Unitarian Church in Kansas City, Missouri, presented a series of lectures on modernism at the Temple B'nai Israel, the temporary Oklahoma City quarters for the Unitarian congregation. He asserted that the purpose of modernism was to keep religion apace with the increasing scholarship of the world, while fundamentalists left no choice but to "believe or be damned." He attacked the "cover to cover acceptance of the Bible" as ridiculous because, in his opinion, there were too many contradictions. He opposed belief in the Genesis account of creation and denied the existence of hell.[39]

Faced with growing opposition from religious denominations, as well as the refusal of Southern Baptists to be drawn completely into the conflict, the unyielding fundamentalists waged an intensive but fruitless campaign. A new move was the sending out of questionnaires by the Reverend Ham to every Oklahoma City school teacher requesting information on their religious views. Five questions were to be answered "yes" or "no."[40] Most teachers signed the questionnaire and returned it promptly, but two added a note that they believed in evolution. The *Kingfisher Times* thought the Reverend Ham's questionnaire "unwise" because it brought the public schools into the controversy, and showed disregard for separation of church and state.[41] Earl E. Leech, president of the Oklahoma City School Board, assured the teachers that there would be no dismissals for refusal to sign, and a Baptist Minister's Union of that city issued a statement that Ham's questionnaire was sent out without consultation with the association.

Teachers in Cushing received similar questionnaires several weeks later. One person replied that "if God chose to work through evolutionary processes, that is strictly and exclusively His business. . . You know nothing about the process; neither do I." One man, however, stood solidly

[39] *Daily Oklahoman*, March 27, 1928, p. 1.

[40] *Harlow's Weekly*, Vol. XXXII (April 14, 1928), p. 12. The questions were as follows: (1) Do you believe an intelligent personality was the first cause in the creation; (2) Did it come about by chance; (3) Do you believe man is a created being; (4) Do you believe development and progress such as we see taking place, is directed by an intelligent personality; (5) Does development and progress come about through inanimate matter, independent of external?

[41] Kingfisher *Times*, April 12, 1928, p. 3.

with Ham because of the thousands the minister had led from the "ranks of Satan, even many of the monkeyfaced, criticizing modernists and placed them in the rank of the Church of God."[42]

Ebb Tide for the Anti-Evolutionists

Probably Al Smith, the Democratic nominee for president in 1928, more than any other person was responsible for terminating the anti-evolution movement in Oklahoma. The "Happy Warrior's" bid for the presidency aroused fundamentalists more deeply than did the issue of evolution, because he was a wet and a Catholic. Crusading for creation was momentarily shelved as fundamentalists, with the Reverend Ham again leading the way, fought uncompromisingly from July to November. That they enjoyed a high degree of success was evident when Oklahoma went for Herbert Hoover, 393,746 to 219,174.[43]

When the legislature convened in January, 1929, fundamentalists again demanded an anti-evolution law. The Reverend J. Frank Norris of Dallas, Texas, spoke at the Oklahoma City First Baptist Church where he denounced evolution and modernism. "As for the atheists," he said, "let them teach if they want to. But let them finance their own schools."[44] T. T. Martin of Blue Mountain, Mississippi, the field secretary of the People's League of America, addressed a meeting at Oklahoma City's Kelham Avenue Baptist Church, where he suggested that petitions be circulated throughout the state to secure a popular vote of the people on the issue.[45]

By 1929, however, it appeared that militant fundamentalists were standing alone in the fight. At a Presbyterian Assembly held in Tulsa in June, 1928, Dr. Robert E. Speer, the retiring moderator, said that Presbyterians were not opposed to the theory of evolution but would voice protests if science sought to establish an atheistic doctrine.[46] In Hooker, a Seventh Day Adventist Church passed a resolution expressing concern that "the principle of separation of church and state, as well as freedom of conscience in religious matters" should be maintained in Oklahoma.[47]

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[42] *Harlow's Weekly*, Vol. XXXII (April 28, 1928), p. 5.

[43] The writer has been unable to find any information about fundamentalist activity with evolution following Smith's nomination, indicating that they considered the election of greater importance.

[44] *Harlow's Weekly*, Vol. XXXIV (January 11, 1929), p. 12.

[45] An Arkansas anti-evolution bill had been passed by a large majority in a popular referendum there in 1928, 108,000 to 63,000.

[46] *Harlow's Weekly*, Vol. XXXII (June 2, 1928), p. 7.

[47] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII (February 2, 1929), p. 7.

An anti-evolution resolution introduced in the legislature was quickly defeated with little protest from the measure's proponents, indicating that the fundamentalists' strength had been spent in the mighty victory over Al Smith.

During June the anti-evolution movement received a disheartening set-back when the leading protagonist, M. F. Ham, preached his farewell sermon to his congregation and immediately departed for the East.[48] His departure meant an end of an aggressive leadership among the fundamentalists in Oklahoma, but it is doubtful that there was much hope for success had he remained longer. In Oklahoma, as in thirteen other states, the movement had about run its course and no anti-evolution measures were introduced in any state legislature after 1929.[49]

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[48] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII (June 22, 1929), p. 4. There were reports that the church was torn with internal strife.

[49] From 1921 to 1929 there were 37 anti-evolution bills before twenty state legislatures.

CONFEDERATE TREATIES WITH THE TRIBES OF INDIAN TERRITORY

*My Kinneth McNeil**

Shortly after the Civil War began the newly created Confederate government commenced its efforts to procure treaties with the Indian tribes of the trans-Mississippi area known as Indian Territory. On February 21, 1861, the Confederate Congress adopted a resolution instructing the Committee on Indian Affairs to inquire into the possibility of negotiating alliances with the tribes of the West. Four days later a bill was adopted empowering the Committee to investigate the possibility of appointing agents to these tribes. Soon President Jefferson Davis recommended to Congress that a Bureau of Indian Affairs be established and a Commissioner of Indian Affairs appointed. These two proposals were enacted on March 15.[1]

Certain actions of some of the Indian Territory tribes encouraged the plans of the Confederacy. As early as February 7, 1861, the General Council of the Choctaw Nation issued a formal resolution stating that in the event the "division in the American Union becomes permanent" they would not hesitate to seek an alliance with the Southern States.[2] The Chickasaw legislature meeting on May 25 voted to join their Southern neighbors in their war with the Federal government.[3]

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* This article on Confederate Indian Treaties in 1861, contributed by Kinneth McNeil represents his research paper on the Civil War in the Indian Territory prepared by him as a graduate student in "History 510 Seminar," Oklahoma State University, January 1963, under the supervision of Prof. LeRoy H. Fischer in the History Department.—Ed.

[1] United States Senate, 58th Congress, 2nd Session, No. 234, *Journal of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States*, (hereinafter referred to as *Journal*), Volume I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), pp. 70, 81, 142, 149.

[2] United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (hereinafter referred to as *Official Records*), Ser. I, Vol. I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), p. 682. Resolutions of the General Council of the Choctaw Nation, February 7, 1861.

[3] *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. III, pp. 585-587, Resolutions of the Senate and House of Representatives of the Chickasaw Legislature, May 25, 1861.

In May, 1861, Governor Edward Clark of Texas, reporting to President Davis on his journey through the territory of the Five Civilized Tribes, found that the secessionist cause enjoyed a favorable position in most of the tribes. He noted that many of the tribes considered themselves members of the Southern States because of their propinquity to the Confederate States and also due to the similarity in the social system and their common interest in maintaining Negro slavery. Some of the tribes were using the written constitution and laws of the Southern States as models for their own governmental structure, and the Choctaws and Chickasaws had even passed "resolutions authorizing the raising of a . . . company in each county in the two nations, to be drilled for actual service when necessary." The Creeks had also shown themselves to be solid supporters of the South, "and when desired will show their devotion . . . by acts." In most of the tribes the secessionist influence was dominant. However, all tribes did not favor Confederate policies, for among the Cherokees there existed a strong abolitionist influence which Governor Clark attributes to a Northern missionary "who is said to exert no small influence with [Chief] John Ross himself."[4]

Recognizing the need for a special agent in Indian Territory, Secretary of State Robert Toombs offered two resolutions which enabled the President to appoint a Commissioner to the tribes of this region.[5] In compliance with this action, President Davis appointed Albert Pike, an Arkansas citizen, as the Confederate Commissioner to the Indian nations "west of Arkansas and south of Kansas." Pike's powers and duties were not immediately defined, but the general policy of Congress in regard to these tribes was explained in an act passed on May 21.[6]

On March 16, the last day of the Provisional Congress's first session, President Davis nominated David Hubbard of Alabama as Confederate Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[7] At first this department had little to do, but the friendly attitude of the western Indians

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[4] *Ibid.*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pp. 322-325, Edward Clark, Governor of the State of Texas, Austin, May 15, 1861, to Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States.

[5] *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 105.

[6] *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Confederacy* (hereinafter referred to as *Messages and Papers*), Vol. I, Nashville: United States Publishing Company, 1905), p. 149.

[7] *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 154.

to the Confederate cause at this time was expected to grow in importance.[8]

The major concern of Pike and Hubbard was to secure treaties of alliance with the various tribes and nations of Indian Territory. In this task they were to be aided by General Ben McCulloch, the military commander of the area, and Major Douglas H. Cooper, in charge of the Choctaw-Chickasaw mounted regiment.[9] By the end of May this group had started on its mission to protect the tribes from the "rapacious and avaricious designs of their enemies at the North."[10] They had taken the first step in their plan to "cultivate the most friendly relations and the closest alliance with the Indian tribes." [11]

These men recognized that the probability of successfully concluding treaties was great, but they were also cognizant of reasons for scepticism.[12] Some Indians were dubious about an alliance with the Confederates. The tribes retained unpleasant memories of their past relations with the Southern States, and many of the leaders still harbored resentment against Southerners who were instrumental in bringing about Indian removal in the 1830's. Naturally this group was hesitant about joining a movement, which, if successful, would bind them in alliance with their former enemies.[13] This antipathy was not the only difficulty the Southern agents met. Many tribal members desired to remain neutral, taking neither side in the "white man's war." In some nations this neutralist desire revealed a division within the tribes. On one side were those who favored a Confederate alliance, while the other side was represented by those who considered any alliance repugnant. This feeling was particularly evidenced among the Cherokee

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[8] *Official Records*, Ser. IV., Vol. I, p. 248, L. P. Walker, Secretary of War, Confederate States, April 27, 1861, Report to President Jefferson Davis.

[9] *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. III, pp. 574-575, L. P. Walker, Secretary of War, Confederate States, April 27, 1861, Report to President Jefferson Davis.

[10] *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. III, p. 576, L. P. Walker, Secretary of War, Confederate States, Montgomery, May 14, 1861, to David Hubbard, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Confederate States.

[11] *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. III, p. 574, L. P. Walker, Secretary of War, Confederate States, Montgomery, May 13, 1861, to Major Douglas H. Cooper, Choctaw Nation.

[12] *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. III, p. 587, Brigadier-General Ben McCulloch, Fort Smith, Arkansas, May 28, 1861, to L. P. Walker, Secretary of War, Confederate States.

[13] Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People*, Vol. I (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1929), p. 316.

Nation, and the negotiators felt that unless the treaties were hastily concluded there was a possibility that many members of this tribe might go over to the Federal side.[14]

Another barrier to successful negotiations was faced by the Southern spokesman. Under their existing agreements with the United States, the Indians had granted the Federal government control of some of their money, and this would be lost if the tribes abrogated these treaties. This fact caused many tribes to seriously contemplate the consequences before signing any pact of association with the South.[15] An incidental problem facing the Confederate agents was the potential Federal resistance to Southern overtures.

It was especially fortunate for the Confederacy that Pike was chosen to head negotiations with the Indian nations. A man less energetic and devoted to his cause might have failed where Pike succeeded. Only two weeks after receiving his appointment, he began his first assignment. Leaving Little Rock on May 20 he journeyed to Fort Smith to meet one of his aides, General McCulloch. Pike then proceeded to Tahlequah, the Cherokee capital, to confer with John Ross, the principal chief of that tribe.[16]

Pikes's conference with Ross proved to be unsuccessful, for the Chief was determined that his tribe should maintain a policy of "strict neutrality between the States threatening civil war."[17] This nonpartisan desire had been expressed by Ross as early as February 22, 1861.[18] Although cognizant that the Cherokees did have close ties with the Confederate States, he also recognized that there were bonds of union with the Federal government. He hoped

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[14] *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. III, p. 587, Brigadier-General Ben McCulloch, Fort Smith, Arkansas, May 28, 1861, to L. P. Walker, Secretary of War Confederate States.

[15] *Messages and Papers*, Vol. I, p. 150, President Jefferson Davis's address to Confederate Congress, December 12, 1861.

[16] *Officiaal Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, p. 359, Commissioner Albert Pike, Fort Smith, Arkansas, May 29, 1861, to Robert Toombs, Secretary of State, Confederate States.

[17] *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 490, Proclamation by John Ross to the Cherokee people, May 17, 1861, contained in letter from Brigadier-General James G. Blunt. Commander, Department of Kansas, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, July 19, 1862, to Colonel William Weer, Commander, Indian Expedition.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 491-492; Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation 1838-1907* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), p. 126.

that his people would maintain their connection with both governments.[19]

To the proposals of the Southern spokesman, Ross offered a more cogent reason why he could not condone an alliance with the secessionist government. During the period from 1785 to 1846 the Cherokees had signed a series of agreements with the United States which bound the tribe to the United States. The Treaty of Hopewell, which had been signed in 1785, placed the Cherokees under the "protection of the United States of America and of no other sovereign whatever." Six years later the Treaty of Holston explained this stipulation. According to this pact the Cherokees agreed not to ally with any other nation, state or individuals of a state.[20] Using these treaties as the basis for his argument, Chief Ross maintained that his nation could not sign an alliance pact with the South. Any such agreement would automatically be a violation of the Cherokee pledge to the United States.

Ross advanced a final reason why he could not agree to a compact with the Confederacy. If his tribe signed such an agreement this would merely be a declaration of war against the Washington government. The Cherokee leader was convinced that his people had no reason to assume such a belligerent attitude.[21] Despite all of the Southern proposals, Ross did not withdraw from his position. Aware that his overtures were in vain, Pike left Tahlequah and journeyed to the Creek Nation. Here, at North Fork Town (just east of present Eufaula, in McIntosh County) he met representatives of the Creek, Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes.

Although Pike had originally felt he would have no difficulty in effecting treaties with the Creeks, he was soon to discover his initial estimate was wrong.[22] One difficulty arose from the absence of some of the tribal leaders. These men were attending a council meeting with the Plains tribes at the Antelope Hills. Another problem facing Pike was that it was impossible to obtain complete tribal ap-

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[19] *Official Records*, Ser. I. Vol. XIII, pp. 491-492, John Ross, Principal Chief, Cherokee Nation, Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, February 22, 1861, to Henry M. Rector, Governor of Arkansas. (See also, Judge Harry J. Lemley, "Historic Letters of General Ben McCulloch and Chief John Ross in the Civil War," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XL, No. 3 (Autumn, 1962), pp. 286-294.)

[20] *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, p. 498, John Ross, Principal Chief, Cherokee Nation, Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, June 17, 1861, to David Hubbard, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Confederate States.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 498-499.

[22] *Ibid.*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pp. 359, 360, 426.

proval of the Confederate proposals. A long standing division within the Creeks had by this time become defined as groups of neutralists and secessionists.[23] Eventually Pike concluded a Creek treaty with a group of Confederate sympathizers headed by Motey Kinnaird, Echo Hacho and the McIntoshes.[24] Ten days after this treaty was signed the general council of the Creek Nation gave it official sanction.

Shortly after concluding the Creek treaty, Commissioner Pike entered into negotiations with Choctaw and Chickasaw representatives. There was no problem involved in bringing these two nations over to the Southern side. They had earlier indicated their secessionist sympathies and negotiations with them moved rapidly to a joint treaty.

Pike next traveled to the Seminole Nation to meet with leaders of that tribe. Aided by Indian Superintendent Elias Rector and Seminole Agent Samuel Rutherford, Pike experienced little difficulty in concluding a treaty with John Jumper, principal chief of that tribe. (The Confederate Seminole treaty was signed at the Seminole Council ground about eight miles west of Trousdale, in Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma.)

Commissioner Pike then proceeded to the Wichita Agency located near Fort Cobb, north of the Washita River where he hoped to secure alliances with the small tribes and bands living in that district. His efforts here were joined with those of Rector, Matthew Leeper, the Wichita Agent, and representatives from the tribes who had already signed Confederate treaties. This group successfully persuaded these Indians to ally with the South. On August 12, 1861, the plains Indians signed two pacts uniting them with Pike's government.[25] Treaties with these tribes were not desired for military reasons since they were not numerous enough to be of substantial help. Something, however, had to be done about the raids these groups had been making on Confederates in Texas. Thus it was considered desirable to secure an alliance which would halt further raids.[26]

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[23] Gaston Litton, *History of Oklahoma at the Golden Anniversary of Statehood*, Vol. I (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1957), p. 197.

[24] *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pp. 426-439.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 439-440, 445-465, 513-525, 542-554.

[26] Edward Everett Dale and Morris L. Wardell, *History of Oklahoma* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), p. 163; Litton, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 197.

Meanwhile, in the Cherokee country, Confederate hopes were strengthened. Realizing that the other large tribes of Indian Territory had allied with the Confederacy, Chief Ross felt his tribe could not long maintain their stand of complete neutrality. Furthermore, factions among the Cherokees were constantly agitating for a Southern alliance. This group became dominant after the Confederates' decisive victory at Wilson's Creek on August 10.

Ross called a general meeting of the tribe to convene at Tahlequah on August 21. The purpose of this gathering was to give the Cherokees an opportunity to express their opinions concerning the advisability of entering the "white man's war." At the appointed time the 4,000 in attendance gathered in the public square to hear the main address delivered by Chief Ross. In his speech the elderly tribal head sadly admitted that he believed it would be impossible to try to hold out longer. Since neutrality was no longer possible the Cherokees should take immediate steps to secure a Confederate alliance. This proposal did not represent a change in Ross's attitude toward the war but merely indicated his belief that a policy of neutrality in a territory dominated by partisans was foolhardy.[27]

After the Chief concluded his speech, the delegation was asked to vote on a series of eight resolutions presented to them. Although not specifically providing for an alliance with the Southern States, these resolves did imply that such a policy should be followed. When a vote was taken the declarations were passed by acclamation.

General McCulloch was immediately notified of the action taken at Tahlequah and was prompt in moving on this fortunate turn of events. He immediately sent a letter of congratulations to Ross for his decision to join the Confederacy. In this letter the General sought to impress on Ross that the Cherokees and their Southern friends shared a common destiny because their institutions were identical. Ross was notified in the letter that McCulloch had authorized Colonel Stand Watie to organize a regiment to be employed in defending the northern border of the Nation.[28]

McCulloch promptly informed Commissioner Pike of the Tahlequah resolutions. It was necessary that Pike return to the Cherokee country to resume negotiations. Even after receiving this favorable report, it was several weeks

[27] *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. III, pp. 673-676, Report on Tahlequah Convention contained in letter from John Ross, Principal Chief, Cherokee Nation, Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, August 21, 1861, to Brigadier-General Ben McCulloch, Confederate Army.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 676, 690-691.

before Pike reached Tahlequah. This delay was not marked by an abatement of secessionist sympathy within the tribe, and on October 7 Pike concluded a treaty with Cherokee representatives. A few days prior to the signing of this alliance, the Commissioner had successfully negotiated treaties at Tahlequah and Park Hill with groups from the Osage, Seneca, Shawnee, and Quapaw tribes.[29]

These treaties concluded Pike's diplomatic efforts in Indian Territory. After their completion he prepared a report on the treaties which was to be sent to the Confederate President. This report also contained a history of Pike's negotiations with the various tribes.[30]

President Davis transmitted the Indian Treaties to the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, on December 12, 1861. He provided a resume of the good and bad points of the treaties and suggested the changes which should be made.[31]

The next day the President's message and its accompanying documents were assigned to the Committee on Indian Affairs. On December 20, the topic was debated in executive session and during the remainder of the month a substantial amount of Congressional time was devoted to a consideration of the Indian alliances. By December 31, the Confederate Congress had ratified all of the treaties, but had followed the suggestions of President Davis in making amendments.[32]

These treaties concluded by Pike were negotiated on the basis of the policy contained within the act passed by the Provisional Congress in May of 1861. According to this act, the Confederacy was to be the protector of each tribe in Indian Territory.[33] This plan was never promulgated and only in those treaties made with the large tribes is their any evidence that a protectorate was even offered.

In their general provisions the treaties were all similar. They differed only where they were concerned with provincial interests. Uniformities were so numerous that each alliance was virtually a duplication of the others.

The Cherokee treaty was the most meaningful, for it was devoid of the pompous language which characterized the other treaties. Absent from their agreement were phrases which guaranteed the tribe rights to hold their

[29] *Ibid.*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pp. 669-687, 636-645, 647-658, 659-666.

[30] *Messages and Papers*, Vol. I, p. 151.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 149-151.

[32] *Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 565-635.

[33] *Messages and Papers*, Vol. I, p. 149.

lands "as long as the grass should grow and the waters run."[34] Since the Cherokees were well educated this language was ineffective against them but was usefully employed in dealings with the other nations who were less literate than the Cherokees. The small prairie tribes upon uniting with the South naively pledged to hold the Confederate States "by the hand, and have but one heart with them always."[35]

A major portion of each of the treaties was devoted to settlement of monetary questions. The Confederate government, anxious to sever any tribal dependence on the United States, assumed the payment of all money the Washington government owed the tribes. This included payments of annuity for land cessions and interest reimbursements on tribal funds still in Federal hands. The amounts spiraled into thousands of dollars due each nation. It is doubtful that the Confederacy had sufficient finances to make this provision effective. Pike was later questioned about why these provisions had been included. He justified them by arguing that obtaining the treaties depended on their inclusion.[36]

Several of the treaties had articles stipulating that certain amounts of money were to be expended for educational purposes. This was not a Confederate innovation. Payments for educational purposes had been provided for in an 1833 treaty between the United States and the Quapaw tribe, but these payments had never been made.[37] The Confederacy sought to correct this situation, but there is no evidence that it did. Male and female seminaries had been established in the Cherokee Nation prior to the Civil War, and had not prospered. The South sought to strengthen these schools with economic support. The Confederacy promised to make an initial payment of $50,000 to the schools. Thereafter, an interest payment of six per cent per annum would be devoted to support of these educational institutions.[38]

By the terms of the treaties the Indians had certain military obligations. The Confederate Army would be supplied small numbers of troops, varying in size from ten to twelve companies, by the various tribes. The Confederacy would furnish these soldiers with arms and other

[34] *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pp. 428, 447, 514, 543, 549, 637, 647, 659.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 548.

[36] Litton, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 200.

[37] *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, p. 665.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 683-684.

necessary provisions and agreed that such regiments would receive the same pay as other Confederate soldiers. Officers for these companies would be determined by majority vote of troop members. These forces were to be utilized only in their own district, and under no circumstances were they to be moved beyond the limits of Indian Territory. The possibility of attack from the North made defense of the Indian frontier imperative, and these soldiers would be most useful in defending their homeland.

Although asked to furnish troops as a symbol of their devotion to the South, the tribes were not called on to give financial assistance in the war effort. In their treaties the Confederates declared that they would assume all expenses of the war and any subsequent war which might be conducted by the Confederate States' government. Thus, tribal obligations were confined to the protection of the Indian lands.

An integral part of the treaties with the Five Civilized Tribes was the provision for ultimate statehood. The agreements stipulated that assimilation would be by voluntary application. Attached to the statehood guarantee were articles providing for a tribal delegate to the Confederate House of Representatives. To qualify as a delegate a person had to fulfill three requirements. He had to be a member of the nation he was to represent and over twenty-one years of age. Any person who had ever violated the laws of his nation was automatically disqualified. Each Indian delegate would serve for a two year term, during which he was vested with the same rights and privileges as a delegate from any other Confederate territory.

President Davis questioned the validity of these provisions. When they were transmitted to the Provisional Congress he asked that particular attention be devoted to them. The Chief Executive declared that such articles were both impolitic and unconstitutional since they were not within the limits of the treaty-making power. On this basis he argued that the provisions should be rejected and modified so that the question could be decided by Congress.[39] After hearing this argument, Congress decided to delete the statehood provision. Changes were also made in the powers which Indian delegates would exercise in the Confederate Congress.[40]

Each treaty contained articles pertaining to jurisprudence. Confederate laws would be enforced within the

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[39] *Messages and Papers*, Vol. I, pp. 149-150.

[40] *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. I, pp. 465-466, 443.

territory. To expedite legal proceedings, provisions were made for the establishment of district courts in the Indian lands. One of these was to be located at Boggy Depot in the Choctaw and Chickasaw country; the other would be established at Tahlequah in the Cherokee country. These courts would have the same jurisdiction as other Confederate district courts. Cases of civil suits at law or in equity were to be handled by these courts when the litigation concerned matters exceeding $500.00 in value.

Other legal matters dealt with in the treaties should be noted. Indians of the greater tribe were recognized as competent witnesses in Confederate courts. Subpoena rights were granted any Indian indicted in a Confederate court and if necessary the Southern government was prepared to use compulsory processes to obtain a desired witness. Costs for these witnesses would be assumed by the Confederacy. Whenever an Indian facing trial was unable to hire a defense counsel, the Confederate government would employ one to act in his behalf.

Matters of governmental procedure were treated only briefly in the alliance pacts. The tribes would retain their autonomy, but it was narrowly defined. Confederate laws were to prevail in Indian Territory and be enforced by tribal governments. No Southern state or territory would be permitted to pass a law for the government of the Indian nations. A tribe could not pass an *ex post facto* law affecting any people other than its own.

The treaties gave official recognition to the institution of slavery. By the pacts with the larger tribes, slavery was not only declared legal but was acknowledged as having "existed from time immemorial." It obviously followed that all acts providing for the return of fugitive slaves were extended to the Indian lands.

A problem which had long bothered the tribes was the monopolies on Indian trade which had been exercised by a few white men and condoned by the United States. This policy destroyed competition and subjected the Indians to the compassion of unscrupulous white traders.[41]

The Confederates attempted to halt existing monopolistic trade practices, especially among the Five Civilized Tribes. Their agreements promised that these tribes would exercise some regulation over their own trade. All persons carrying on trade with these Indians had to be duly licensed. The right to collect taxes from the traders was vested in the tribes. It was specified that such taxes would

[41] Litton, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 20.

not exceed one and one-fourth per cent of the value of the goods. Any trade license could be revoked if a tribe registered a complaint against the trader. A final provision stipulated that licenses would be withheld until an applicant gave the tribes compensation payments for any land and timber he might use in his dealings.

Other points dealt with in the treaties should be considered. Under the terms of the agreements, an agent would be appointed for each tribe. He would serve as the Confederate advisor to the Indians and complaints about Southern policies were to be registered with him. The tribes agreed to grant the South rights to construct forts and military roads, essential to the war effort, through Indian land. Establishment of post offices was also provided in most of the alliance pacts.[42] Other articles provided for mutual use of navigable rivers and hunting grounds. The treaties concluded with a grant of amnesty for all past offenses against the Confederacy.

Many of the promises made in the alliance pacts were never practiced or were only partially fulfilled. Part of the reason is that the Confederacy was incapable of executing some of its promises. This was particularly the case in those clauses regarding payments to the tribes. Although this unfortunate situation existed, it did not sever the loyalty of the Indians. In August, 1862, President Davis reported that Indians had remained faithful to their treaty obligations despite "blandishments used in profusion" by United States agents. Their loyalty had not wavered despite the fact that, due to vacancies in some of the offices of agents and superintendents, delay occurred in payments to which they were entitled.[43] As late as January, 1863, the Confederate Chief Executive noted that even in the Cherokee Nation, which had a large abolitionist faction, most of the people had remained "true and loyal" to their treaty obligations.[44]

During a period of four months, from June to October, 1861, the Confederate States negotiated these treaties with the tribes of Indian Territory. The alliances were a significant advance for the Indians in their relations with white men. Never before had they been accorded the honor and dignity extended to equals. The Confederacy, by granting

[42] See George H. Shirk, "Confederate Postal System in the Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI, No. 2 (Summer, 1963), pp. 160-217.

[43] *Messages and Papers*, Vol. I, p. 238.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

them territorial integrity, recognized them as peers. This and the conciliatory manner of the Southern overtures was too much for the tribes to resist. Unfortunately for the Indians the Confederates never fulfilled many of their treaty obligations but not because they did not try. The South could not live up to the promises it made the Indians because its hopes for success were never realized. When the plans of the secessionist states fell, toppling with them were the treaties with the Indian tribes. Nevertheless the inhabitants of Indian Territory had made an important gain. For a brief period the white man had thrown aside the role of superiority which he had assumed in his previous relations with the Indians.

CONFEDERATE INDIAN TERRITORY CONDITIONS IN 1865

*By Allan C. Ashcraft**

For four years the Indian Territory experienced the horrors of the American Civil War. Tribes split into Confederate and Union factions, massacres occurred, civilian refugees were decimated, Indian soldiers on both sides fought and died, bushwhackers multiplied basic hardships of the conflict, and the Indian country and the people suffered bitter devastation. By April of 1865, the end was at hand. Lee surrendered to Grant on April 9. Less than three weeks later Joseph Johnston surrendered to Sherman in North Carolina. In rapid order the remaining armies of the South were compelled to follow this course. Finally, on May 26, the Army of the Trans-Mississippi West (including Confederate Indian commands) officially gave up the fight.[1]

What were military conditions in the Confederate portion of Indian territory as the end drew near? Probably the best answer to this can be found in Inspector General reports for the spring of 1865. On April 19, a young officer completed an inspection report on key military installations. Apparently, his inspection tour took several weeks to perform. While Lee had surrendered ten days previously, it is doubted that news of this event had yet circulated in the remote Southwest. And even if word of the surrender had reached Indian territory, the actual inspection reported on had been completed before the arrival of this intelligence.

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[1] The Confederate Indian commands in the Territory surrendered in June, 1865. Brig. Gen. Stand Watie of the Cherokee Nation was the last general officer of the Confederate Army to surrender (June 23, 1865, at Doaksville, Choctaw Nation).

Office Inspr Genl Dist Ind Terry
Fort Towson C.N. April 19th 1865

Colonel

I have the honor to submit the following report of Posts Ft. Arbuckle, Boggy Depot, Ft Washita & Warren Texas.[2]

There has been no tabular report made of the troops at these Posts(for the reason: that, no troops report direct to either Boggy Depot or Warren: And though five companies [of] Checoies (Chickasaw) Batt[a]l[io]n have been ordered to report to Ft Washita, only a small portion of Co. "A" (20 enlisted men) have yet reported to Ft Arbuckle, and 22 enlisted men to Ft Washita.

There being no Field or Battln Adj[utan]t present at inspection at Ft Arbuckle to properly account for the absentees, the Indian commands having been allowed winter at home, they do not probably realize that they are absent without leave, though such is the case with most of the troops of the above mentioned Battln.

The members of Cos. "A" & "C" I deem proper to account for in this report.

Post Ft Arbuckle
March 31st 1865

Col. R. W. Lee Post[3]
Com[man]d[an]t absent with
leave by Order Brig Genl
Cooper from 21st Mar 1865[4]

Capt W. Martin Co. "A" 1st Chickasaw Battln, temporarily in command of Post, is an active energetic officer, and seems disposed to do his duty, but lacks information.

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[2] Warren, Texas, was located on the Fannin-Grayson County line just over the Texas line. It was about 50 miles due south of Boggy Depot and about 15 miles northwest of Bonham. *The Official Atlas of the Civil War* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1858), plate 159.

[3] Roswell W. Lee had served as commander of Lee's Light Artillery, Cooper's Brigade, in 1863. By early 1864, he was Assistant Inspector General of the Indian Division. (Roswell W. Lee served as Assistant Adj. Gen. in Col. Cooper's Indian Regt. in 1861.—Ed.)

[4] Douglas H. Cooper had been United States agent to the Choctaw Nation in the 1850's. With the coming of the Civil War, he had commanded the First Choctaw-Chickasaw Mounted Rifles and then Cooper's Brigade.

Grounds and streets about the Post very neat. Occupied quarters very neat but unoccupied rooms & houses, torn to pieces & in a State of ruin. Said to have been done of Col. Bourlands' Comd who were formerly on duty at this Post.[5]

Sen[ior] 2nd Lt D. P. Hopkins, Co. "F" 33rd Regt. Tex. Cavy, reporting to Col Lee by Order of Maj. Genl Maxey as Drill M[as]t[e]r, for first Chickasaw Battln.[6] (Spec. Ord. No. 284), dated Decr 12th 1864. Placed on duty A[ssistant] Adj[utan]t for the Post by Order Col R. W. Lee Jany 22nd 1865, is an active energetic & efficient Officer, no books, papers, files well arranged.

Capt. Thos. Drennon, Bonded
Agt C S appointed by Genl Smith[7] to date from May 25th 1864, assigned to duty as A. Q. M. & A. C. S. by Order Maj Genl Maxey June 13th 1864. Is an active efficient officer as A.Q.M. Papers up for the present month and Quarter and in neat order. No funds on hand.

Extra duty men employed. 1 wagon Mtr, 1 forage Mtr. 9 teamsters, 4 mechanics.

In Charge of one carpenters Shop, one Blk. Smith Shop and a set of tools for each.

Has charge of all the houses at the Fort but no Govt Buildings. Govt-Transportation 6 mules 24 oxen, 7 wagons. Hired transportation 4 mule teams, 7 ox teams.

As. A. C. S. No funds on hand.
In charge of one house of four rooms used for Store house. Stores on hand. Beef furnished by contract as needed, so that none remains on hand at end of month. Flour 10,269 pounds, 124 pounds soap.

Dr. E. P. Harris, Contract Surg[eon] of the Post, intelligent & attentive to his duties. Papers in good order, medicines on hand sufficient, one case of surgical instrument, no Post hospital, no furniture, dressings,

[5] Bourland's Cavalry Regiment. also known as Bourland's Frontier Regiment, had originally been formed to defend the Texas frontier.

[6] S. B. Maxey had resigned from the Texas Senate to form the Ninth Texas Infantry. In December, 1863, he was named Confederate commander of the Indian territory.

[7] Edmund Kirby Smith has served as commander of the Confederate Department of the Trans-Mississippi West since 1863.

or bedding. Post very healthy. Troops reporting to the Post. Five Cos of 1st Chickasaw Battln Lt. Col. Checoe Comdg all absent with exception of a portion of Co. "A".

Lt Col Checoe absent.

Capt W. Martin Co "A" Comdg. An active energetic officer disposed to do his duty but lacks information.

Sen. 2nd Lt. G. S. Morrison Co. "G"
Act Adjt. absent.

1st Lt. B. Kingsbury Co "C" Act. Absent with leave.

Dr. J. H. Moore Contract Sug absent.

Co. "A" 1st Chickasaw Battln. 3 officers present, 20 enlisted men present, 4 enlisted men absent with leave. 32 enlisted men absent without leave. 19 enlisted men on detached service. Total enlisted 75.

Post Boggy Depot C.N. April 4th 1865.

Lt. Col. T. D. Taliaferro,[8] Battln 20th Tex. Dis. Cavy. Comdg Post, assigned to duty by Order Genl Steel Sept 1st 1863 is an energetic and efficient officer.[9] Books and papers in good order. No troops reporting direct to the Post. A provost Guard being detailed daily from the 1st Cherokee Brigade. Post & Streets neat. No Post Adjutant.

2nd Lt T. W. Wade Co, "A" 20th Battln, Tex Dis[mounted] Cavy A. assigned to duty by Order Lt. Col. Taliaferro, approved by Order Maj Genl Maxey July 26th 1864. Is an active efficient Officer. Monthly & Quarterly papers up & in good order. No funds on hand. Govt transportation, 13 mules, 12 oxen, 15 Wagons, 1 ambulance. Hired transportation, 8 wagons, 32 oxen, 24 mules. Extra duty men 1 clerk, 8 mechanics, 1 forage Mtr. 9 teamsters, 2 herders, 1 courier, 9 laborers, Hired employed employees, 1 clerk, 3 mechanics, 1 white & 9 negro laborers eight of the negroes employed at the Salt works.

Clothing Camp & garison equipage scarce.

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[8] Lieut. Col. T. D. Taliaferro of the 20th Texas Cavalry, had commanded Fort Washita in 1863.

[9] William Steel[e] had commanded Indian territory in the latter part of 1863.

W. T. Cline Bonded Ajt C. S.
appointed by Genl Smith to date from the 5th day of April 1864, assigned to duty at Boggy Depot by (Par. II S. O. No. 155) Hd. Qrs. D[istrict] I.July 15th 1864. Papers not up for the last month or Quarter. Amount of funds on hand, ($25,700.86) Twenty five thousand Seven hundred & 86/100 dollars. Stores on hand—400 pounds bacon, 9478 pounds of beef, 1137 pounds meal, salt sufficient. Person's employed and hired, Extr duty men, 1 clerk, 1 butcher, 3 herders. Hired 1 clerk, 1 storekeeper. His means of getting Supplies are dubious, he states that he has applied to Captain Welch A.Q.M. for transportation but could not hear from him. And exhibited also copy of a letter addressed to Capt Hunter asking for supplies, to who he states he had received no reply. I would remark in conection that about the 10th day of April a train of wagons loaded with commissaries passed through Warren Texas which Capt Welch, assured me he was sending to Boggy Depot.

Store rooms neat & properly aired.

Post Fort Washita April 6th 1865
Lt Fuller Howells Battery Post Comdt absent.[10]

2nd Lt. B. J. Johnson, Co "C" Chickasaw
Battln temporarily in Command of the Post, is intelligent and desirous of doing his duty, but is unaccustomed to and almost entirely ignorant of the duties of a Post Comdt. Books & files in tolerable order.

Troops reporting to this Post are Co "C" Chickasaw Battln. 1 officer & 22 enlisted of which are present 2 officers & 2 privates absent with leave, & 22 enlisted men absent without leave. 1 Officer & 21 enlisted men det. Service, total enlisted 67. Post grounds and streets clean Co. quarters & guard house dirty. Four prisoners in stockade 2 white and 2 negroes, very lax in guard duty, two prisoners escaped on the night of April 5th.

Capt W. A. Welch A. Q. M. absent on duty at Warren Texas
Books & papers mostly moved to that Post. the presence of a permanent Qr. Mtr. is much needed at Washita. Shops in the charge of Qr. Mr. are 1 Blk Smiths Shop, 1 Wood Shop and one harness Shop, no work going on in either.
No forage supplied the Post.

[10] Howell's Battery, commanded by Capt. Sylvanus Howell, was a part of Cooper's Brigade.

Capt. D. N. Allen, Bonded Agt,
Sub. Dept. appointed by Genl Smith to date from Jany 20th 1864, assigned to duty at this post by Order of Maj Genl Maxey Sept 14th 1864, is an active, energetic and efficient officer. All Quarterly and monthly papers up and in admirable order. Funds on hand ($695.40) Six hundred Ninety five & 40/100 dollars Extra duty men employed, 1 clerk, 1 storekeeper, 1 purchasing agt, 1 courier, 1 herder. transportation one wagon, four mules. In charge of 2 private rooms, 1 officer, 1 store room all neat and well kept. Manufactured during the month 486 pounds soap, 50 pounds candles.

1st Lt. B. F. Atkinson, In charge of Ord. Dept. is an energetic and efficient officer. Papers are up for last Quarter and month, neat and well made. Amount of funds on hand ($615.48) Six hundred fifteen & 48/100 dollars. Extra duty men employed, 1 fore man; 14 mechanics, 1 purchasing agt. Hired 1 Blk Smith, 1 teamster. Has in charge on office, 1 cartridge shop, 1 magazine, all in good order, workmen busily engaged. Stores on hand. 152 round fixed arty ammunition 91196 rounds fixed ammunition for small arms, 1666 pounds powder for small arms, 9138 caps, 91 Serv small arms.

Dr. Henry Pernot, Contract Surg. for Genl Hospital at Ft Washita is an intelligent Surg and very attentive to his duties. Hospital funds on hand ($294) two hundred & ninety four dollars. 15 patients in Hospital, supplies of medicines, bandages, bed-clothes & furniture sufficient, attendants 1 Steward, 3 nurses, 2 cooks, 2 laundresses, 1 ward Mtr, 2 teamsters & 1 laborer. No diseases of a scorbutic or epidemic character. Every part of the hospital is well arranged and very neatly kept, and every effort seems to have been made which could render a Hospital comfortable.

Post Warren Texas April 11th 1865

Capt. W. H. Mitchell Supernumerary officer of Battln 20th Tex. Dis. Cavy. Comdg Post, assigned to duty by order Maj Genl Maxey (S. O. No 298) Dec 27th 1864. Is an energetic officer and disposed to do his duty. No books. Papers and files in good order. No troops report to this post but much needed for guard and to enforce submission & obedience amongst the workmen. No adj'ut.

Capt. W. A. Welch A. Q. M. duly bonded & assigned to duty as chief of supply train in addition to his duties as Post Qr. Mr. of Ft. Washita is a capable Officer. Montly

papers up, in good order Quarterly papers not up. Qr. Mr. funds on hand ($15,000) fifteen thousand dollars. Pay funds on hand ($5,000) five thousand dollars. Extra duty men 12 mechanics, 4 wagon Mtrs, 5 asst wagon mtrs, 3 couriers, 2 ferrymen, 42 teamsters. Govt transportation 7 mule & 30 ox wagons without teams. 4 mule & 10 ox teams running. Hired 61 teams Clothing, Camp & garison equipage scarce. Reports that he can have 60 Govt teams ready for use by May 1st 1865.

Capt. F. R. Young Bonded agent Q. M. Depot assigned to duty as Q. Mr. Warren by Ord Maj Genl Maxey Nov 13th 1864 is a zealous and efficient officer. Papers up and in good order . Amount of funds on hand ($20,574) twenty thousand five hundred & seventy four dollars. Extra duty men 1 clerk, 1 wagon Mtr, 1 forage Mtr, 3 couriers, 7 mechanics, 3 teamsters, 4 laborers. Wagons hired for indigent Indian transportation 127. Stores on hand, 200 pounds leather, 1200 pounds iron, 300 pounds Steel.

Capt. J. H. Hunter Bonded agt Commissary Dept is an active and thoroughly qualified Commissary. But an investigation is in progress, which, until completed forbids a more favorable report. Papers not up for either last month or Quarter, owing probably, to his being sick. Amount of funds on hand 1000 pounds flour, no meal, no beef, no bacon. I am satisfied from the complaints of different commissaries of this Dist. and from having found this commissary poorly supplied at both the inspections of little over two months apart, that, it is not answering the purpose for which it was established. Some of the commissaries in this Dist receive their supplies direct from the Post in the Northern Sub. Dist. Texas.[11] Others sending for supplies to those Posts have them invoiced to the Commissary at Warren, and by him to the commy, sending after such supplies, which last go upon the papers of the Comy at Warren, though not unloaded there. In fact Subsistance is becoming so scarce and difficult to get it would not be allowed to remain at any convenient Supply Depot than just long enough to get the transportation for removing it to the troops, which at present renders Warn little more than an obstacle in the rout from the post of the Northern Sub Dist of *Texas.* to those of the Dist Indian territory. there are

[11] The Northern Sub-District of Texas was established as a military area on June 5, 1863.

many persons necessarily required to keep up a Post properly, viz: Clerks, couriers, herders, laborers & c. who, when a Post becomes useless or of little importance to the Govt while they consume a great deal which might go to the troops in the field. For the reasons stated I would respectfully suggest that some expense might be saved the Govt and very little inconvenience sustained by discontinuing the Post of Warren, and if it is probable that here after any large quantity of supplies will be on hand at one time, so that it becomes necessary to establish any other Depot for supplies than the Post at Present in this Dist. it could be established nearer the front So that the deviation en rout from the base of supplies in the N. Sub. Dist. Tex to the troops will not be so great. this would not materially interfere with Warren as a manufacturing Depot. There is a great deal of material on hand and near the Post of Coopering the Coopers shop with the other shops could be place in charge of an officer

I am Col Respty,
your Obdt Servt
Jas. Patterson [12]
A. I. Genl.

Lt. Col. N. W. Battle [13]
A. I. Genl
D. J. Terry

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[12] Lieutenant James Patterson had served on the staff of General Maxey throughout early 1864. In September of that year, he was named chief drill master for the District of Indian Territory. Subsequently he joined the Inspector General's Office.

[13] Nicholas William Battle had previously served as Executive Officer of the 30th Texas Cavalry (also known as 1st Texas Partisan Rangers). Later he commanded this unit. The entire report is taken from War Department Collection of Confederate Records, Chap. II, Vol. 259, Military Departments, Letters Sent, I. G. O. District of Indian Territory, Apr. 1864-May 1865, pp. 210-16.—National Archives, Washington, D. C.

ROMAN NOSE: CHIEF OF THE SOUTHERN CHEYENNE

By Ellsworth Collings

Foreword

Dr. Ellsworth Collings (retired), of the College of Education in the University of Oklahoma, contributes this article on the history of Chief Roman Nose and the Cheyenne Indians after several years research in published reports besides personal interviews with Indians and others who lived within the old Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation area in Oklahoma. Dr. Collings is well known as a writer on Oklahoma historical subjects, and a former contributor to The Chronicles. He was acquainted with his field of history in beginning his latest project, seeking particularly the indentification, background and history of Roman Nose, the results of his research planned for publication in The Chronicles. His manuscript based on his research findings was in preparation when he learned that Karen Daniels Peterson was doing research in the same field and planning a paper on Henry Roman Nose. Communication on their separate work resulted in agreement between the two writers to collaborate on one article for The Chronicles, each to present papers on different phases on the life of Chief Roman Nose. The two papers sent in by the writers to the Editor, however, were different in context and style with very little repetition of data, and are presented as separate articles in this winter number (1964-1965) of The Chronicles, with a few cross references given from one to the other in footnote form. Dr. Collong's article followed by Mrs. Peterson's paper on Chief Henry Roman Nose is a contribution to Indian history in Oklahoma. —*Editor*

Heritage of Roman Nose

The Cheyenne were a proud and high-spirited people, intelligent and fearless in the face of danger. At an early age the children learned to ride and care for horses, to use the bow and arrow, to swim, to fish, and to strive for themselves in a variety of situations in which, fearless in the face of danger was involved. In youth, boys, in accordance with Cheyenne custom, participated in adult activities in which they had an opportunity to distinguish themselves in riding horses, to use the bow and arrow in the buffalo chase, and to accompany their elders on forays out on the plains. These Indian boys were encouraged to think that the most valuable thing in life was to be fearless in the face of danger, that it was much better to be killed while young and active rather than wait until old age when one could no longer achieve feats in procuring meat, defending the people and homeland against attacks by their enemies. How much better they thought it would be to accomplish great things,

to receive the plaudits of everyone, and finally die gloriously at the hands of their enemy. These young men were fearless and formed the front ranks in attacks on their enemies, so vividly illustrated in all the major conflicts with the whites in the long struggle ahead.

As a result of this philosophy of life, the Cheyenne were perhaps the most distinguished tribe in later life, in defending their meat supply and homeland against the attacks of their enemies. They were counted among the greatest warriors on the Plains.[1]

The Cheyenne, along with several other tribes, lived in an early time in the region of the Red River of the North in the country south of Canada, long before any historical knowledge was recorded of their tribal way of life.[2] In this early period the Cheyennes lived a sedentary life, raising some crops and hunting and fishing for food. They engaged in conflicts over a long period of time with their neighboring tribes, and were slowly pushed forward in a south-westerly direction until they reached the Missouri River in 1678 near where Fort Pierre, South Dakota, is now located.[3] The Cheyenne lived for many years with the Arikaras, dwelling in earth lodges, growing crops and making journeys away from their lodges to procure meat with their bow and arrows, and to fish and trap. Later on they wandered out on the plains where they became buffalo hunters. They would hunt for several days and return to their lodges with plenty of meat to last them for a time. They finally abandoned raising crops and fixed places to live, and began to travel from place to place out on the plains, packing some of their things on dogs and carrying some on their backs. This was a long time before the use of the horse by the Indians.

The change in the old tribal way of life, developed over many hundreds of years. They gave up their sedentary life in fixed places and began following buffalo herds and establishing their camp sites at convenient places for the hunt. This marked the beginning of basic changes in their way of life for many years. The tribe divided into two groups: the Northern Cheyenne and The Southern Cheyenne. White hunters finally destroyed the vast herds of buffalo roaming the plains, and the Southern Cheyenne were moved to a fixed reservation in the Indian Territory.

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[1] Stanley Vestal, *"The Dog Soldier Cheyenne," Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I No. 1, (January, 1921).

[2] Waldo R. Wedal, *Prehistoric Man on the Great Plains*, pp.79, 159, 214-215, 234, 241, 268. 297 and 298.

[3] George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, (New York, 1915), Chapter 1.

Cheyenne conflicts with the Whites

The Cheyennes were fearless in face of danger, and probably suffered more losses of life in conflicts with their enemies than any of the other Plains Tribes. Such engagements as the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864, Battle of the Washita in 1868, Beacher Island Fight in 1868;[4] Battle of Summit Springs in 1869, Fight at Adobe Walls in 1874, Cook's Fight on the Rosebud in 1876; Custer's Battle of 1876, and several other conflicts with the white people resulted in the killing of many Cheyenne chiefs and men, besides their women and children, and the destruction of their villages, meat supply, and horses.

The Joint Peace Commission of 1865, appointed by the Government to study the causes of the conflicts between the Cheyennes and white people, placed the blame for the Sand Creek Massacre on the officers of the Army, particularly on Major Anthony and Colonel Chivington. The Report asserts: "The Massacre scarcely has its parallel in the records of Indian barbarity. Fleeing Cheyenne women holding up their hands praying for mercy were shot down; infants were killed and scalped in derision; old men were tortured and mutilated in a manner that would put to shame the overage ingenuity of interior Africa." [5]

In the Battle of the Washita in 1868, General Custer made a surprise attack at daylight, and completely annihilated Chief Black Kettle's Southern Cheyenne village on the Washita River, near present Cheyenne, Roger Mills County, Oklahoma. The loss was a severe one to the Cheyennes, for their Chief Black Kettle and his wife were killed. Little Robe, also, was killed as well as many women, children, and old Cheyennes. Their village on the Washita was completely destroyed by fire under Custers orders.

Just a few days before the Battle of the Washita, Black Kettle journeyed to Fort Cobb to ask General Hazen what he should do. General Hazen told him he had no authority to offer protection, but advised him to go back to his people on the Washita and keep well beyond the friendly Coman-

[4] The Beecher Island Fight took place between General Forsigh's Scouts, and the Cheyennes under leadership of Roman Nose on the Arickaree of North Fork of the Rebublican River in Colorado, September 16, 1868. Roman Nose, a Northern Cheyenne of great courage, a splendid fighter, was looked on by all the Indians as a great leader. He was fearless, possessed wide influence, and was acknowledged leader in war. While leading his warriors on fast moving horses, in a succession of "hit and run" attacks on Forsigh's Scouts, entrenched on Beecher Island, Roman Nose was killed, September 16, 1868.

[5] Report of Joint Indian Peace Commission, March 3, 1865.

ches. General Hazen's report to the Secretary of the Interior in 1869, states: "Black Kettle was a striking example of a consistently friendly Indian, who, because he was friendly, was punished for acts of people of whom it was supposed he could not control." [6]

To remedy such conditions, a Peace Commission was sent by the Government to meet at the Medicine Lodge River in Southern Kansas with the Plains tribes in the summer of 1867 to work out a satisfactory peace treaty to both the Indians and Whites. Only the Cheyennes, Araphoes, Comanches, Kiowas, and Apaches attended this meeting. Accordingly, the commissioners of the Government and the principal chiefs of the above tribes met in council and discussed for several days the problems and issues involved, and agreed upon a treaty known as Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. [7]

Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation the Homeland of Roman Nose

The Medicine Lodge Treaty allotted to the Southern Cheyenne and the Southern Arapaho a reservation together, bounded on the north by the Kansas line (the thirty-seventh Parallel of Latitude), between the points where the Arkansas and the Cimarron rivers cross the line; on the east by the Arkansas River and on the south and west, by the Cimmarron. These boundaries were of no importance because the Cheyennes and Arapahoes never lived on the reservation thus defined because of the salty and brackish taste of the water. But they did settle farther south on the North Fork of the Canadian River, immediately west of the ninety-eighth meridian. [8] By an executive order August 10, 1869 the President assigned them a tract of land bounded on the north by the Cherokee Outlet; on the east, by the Cimarron River and the Ninety-eighth Meridian; on the south by the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Reservation; and on the west by the Texas line, thus forming the permanent reservation of the Cheyenne and Arapaho. [9]

The rest of the treaty was generous in dealing with the Cheyenne and Arapaho. Provisions made to establish an agency on the reservation, schools and teachers were to be provided for the children; seeds and farm implements

[6] F. L. Paxton, *The Last American Frontier*, p. 317.

[7] George Bird Grinnell, *The Fighting Cheyennes*, Chapter 20.

[8] Roy Gittinger, *Formation of the State of Oklahoma*, (University of California Pres, 1917), p. 90.

[9] *Executive Order* of the President, August 10, 1869.—*Report Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1882.*

together with instruction on agriculture were to be made available. Appropriations for at least ten years were to be provided to cover the expenses of a farmer, physician, blacksmith, engineer, and miller. In lieu of all other money or annuities promised by former treaties, the Government agreed to deliver to the agency on the reservation on October 15, of each year for thirty years the folowing supplies:

1. For each male person over fourteen years of age, a suit of woolen clothing, consisting of coat, pantaloons, flannel shirt, hat, and a pair of woolen socks.
2. For each female over twelve years of age a flannel shirt, or the goods necessary to make it, a pair of woolen hose, twelve yards of calico, and twelve yards of cotton domestic.
3. For boys and girls under the ages named for adults, such flannel and cotton as may be needed to make each a suit as aforesaid, together with a pair of woolen hose for each.

In addition to all these provisions for material helps, annuities of $20,000 for a period of thirty years were provided.

In consideration of the advantages and benefits conferred by this treaty and the pledge of friendship, the Southern Cheyenne and Southern Arapaho were granted the right to hunt on the land south of the Arkansas River as long as the buffalo ranged thereon in sufficient numbers to provide beef for their families. The Cheyenne and Arapaho promised to withdraw all opposition to the building of railroads through the Smoky Hill Country in the North. They further promised not to attack emigrants or white settlers, nor kill or scalp white men. They agreed to withdraw all opposition to military posts already established or those to be established.

The Cheyenne and Arapaho signed this treaty. The Peace Commission completed its work and made its report to Congress, January 7, 1868.[10] The Peace Commission decided that in all cases investigated at this time and for some years previous that the difficulties between the Indians and whites could be directly traced to the acts of the white men, either soldiers or civilians. The Medicine Lodge Treaty was ratified by Congress, July 25, 1868, and was proclaimed August 19, 1868.[11]

Soon after the approval of the Treaty by Congress, the agency for the reservation was established (May, 1870) on the North Fork of the Canadian River where the military road from Fort Hooker to Fort Sill crosses the stream.[12]

[10] *Ibid.*, 1868. p. 27.

[11] Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Treaties*, Vol. II, p. 984.

[12] The site of the Darlington agency is on the north side of the North Canadian River near where the city of El Reno is now located.

The agency was named for Brinton Darlington, its first agent. From that time Government began to fulfill, after a fashion, some of the promises made in the Peace Treaty of 1868.

Brinton Darlington, a Quaker, who had been serving as temporary agent was now appointed as the first agent for the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation. Under his supervision, a stone office building and dwellings for the agent, carpenter, blacksmith, farmer, and employees were erected. Also, a warehouse and a large blacksmith shop were built. Ground was broken and soil tested as to its adaptability for raising crops. [13] The men of the tribe led by the head Chief Little Robe considered any sort of labor degrading and refused to raise crops of any kind for their subsistence. The Chief insisted that the Bureau of Indian Affairs did not intend for Indians to work, but the white men were sent to the reservation for the purpose of raising corn. [14]

Carl Sweezy explained in his interview with the writer: [15]

> At the Agency warehouse, the food and clothing rations were issued to the Indians every Monday. And the Beef Issue Day was staged at the same time across the Canadian River from the agency at the big Government corral. Hundreds of galloping pony riders in groups from two to a dozen could be seen coming from every direction out on the prairie. As they drew nearer a few, perhaps, had dropped their white sheets from their heads that flapped in the breeze, while their long black locks, straight and wiry floated wildly through the air. They made a fine showing in their warpaint and feathers on their frisky broncos. Many of the Indians decorated their bridles with strips of blue and scarlet flannel, and not the least of the gaily decked of these were the old War Chiefs.
>
> At the big corral hundreds of Indians had assembled, as this was a big day for them, and as the steers were issued they had an exciting time. The frightened and desperate cattle rushed madly around, pursed by from one to a dozen Indian Warriors. When in the ardor of the chase they rode like demons, fearless in the face of danger to their life and limbs, yelling and whooping to remind them of the early days when buffalo hunting was their chief sport.
>
> The Issue Clerk, an army officer, and the interpreter were on the ground, tickets were given to the heads of the different bands for their families.
>
> The steers were first driven into a chute inside the big corral on large scales where they were weighed; then they were driven into a

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[13] Interview with Carl Sweezey, Arapaho, alongtime employee on the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation, June 20, 1951.

[14] *Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1870, p. 268.

[15] Interview with Carle Sweezy, an Arapaho Indian, June 20, 1951. Sweezy pointed out the old issue guards the corral branding chute, and the country over which the chase took place. (See Althea Bass, "Carl Sweezy Artist," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4 (Winter, 1956-57) pp. 429-31.)

long narrow branding chute where, from the loud bellow of pain, you knew the hot branding iron, ID, had been stamped into the steers quivering hide.

A policeman or employee designated the Indian's particular steer and as his name was called the owner proceeded to mark his steer properly by taking a sharp knife and cutting off an ear or tail. Then when the Indian with bow and arrows and spear was ready, he presented his ticket to be punched and as the branding chute gate was opened the maddened and frightend steer was tunrnd out free on the prairie and the chase began. This precedure was repeated until all the Indians issued tickets were chasing steers, all at the same time, over the rolling prairie. Indians, ponies, dogs, of all ages, sizes, and appearances, started on the mad race. The bucks would give vent to a series of wild yells, goading the steers with spears running them hither and thither, many of them being decorated with capes, rags, and weeds showing to whom they belonged.

Hours were spent in chasing and wounding the steers with bows, arrows, and spears. When at length a steer would be stricken in a vital part and rolled over struggling and bleeding in deadly agony, ending the animal's misery. But as the bucks would go right and left scouring the prairie in hot pursuit of the doomed and frightened steers, never halting the chase, but rushing from one to the other down the valleys, on over the hills and across the canyons of the prairie until each buck had located his dead or wounded steer.

Old women would have the wagons ready with willow bushes and saplings in the bottom of the wagon bed. They would take charge of the carcass and set to work with knives and axes sliting the throat as pretty as a butcher, skinning, and dividing the parts according to the number of families entitled to a share of the meat, wasting only the skull of the animal. The women dried the meat and the bucks took the hides to the post trader, thus ending the Beef Issue Day.

On removal to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation in 1868, the Indians and their chiefs camped in their tipi on the reservation. By 1875, the reservation had a population of 4,002 of which 2,756 were Cheyenne and 1,296 were Arapaho. [16] The Arapaho remained peaceful in their camps around the agency on the prarie, leaving only on buffalo hunts with permission of the agent. The Cheyenne, on the other hand, were unwilling to settle down in camps near the agency for any length of time. After a buffalo hunt they would come into the Agency, draw their rations, rest their ponies, and then scatter out in different directions—some going toward present Kansas and others up the North Canadian River and its tributaries in present Oklahoma, from fifty to one-hundred miles from the Agency.

For many years the Cheyenne were united as one tribe only, and had occupied the country west of the Black Hills on the upper Platte and Yellowstone Rivers. The tribe divided itself about 1835, into Northern and Southern branches because of differences between them at the time.

[16] John Murphy, Reminisences of the Washita Campaign and the Darlington Indian Agency.—*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 1, p. 259.

The Northern Cheyenne remained in their old hunting grounds around the upper Platte and Yellowstone rivers in the North while the Southern Cheyenne moved down south to the region of Eastern Colorado and, Western Kansas, along the headwaters of the Arkansas River.

After the removal of the Southern Cheyenne to the new reservation a band of the Northern Cheyenne was reunited with their kinsmen on the reservation in Oklahoma. This effort on the part of the Government to re-unite them was bitterly resented by both branches of the tribe, and produced dissatisfaction among the people on the reservation. [17] The Northern Cheyenne further pointed out the warm climate and food of the reservation produced much sickness and many deaths in their families. They requested the Agent at Darlington to permit them to return to their old hunting grounds to the North where the climate and food were better suited to their health. The Agent explained to the chiefs that he had no authority to permit them to leave he reservation. This denial of their request led to wide spread unrest and signs of hostility among both the tribal branches on the reservation. Some of the Northern Cheyenne, as a result, joined with the Kiowas in the depredations of settlements in Texas in the fall of 1870, but with exception of threatened trouble, they committed no acts of hostility at the time.

As a result of the threatened troubles of the Cheyenne on the reservation, a military post was ordered established in 1874 across the Canadian River from the Darlington Agency. [18] There were fifteen hundred Indians camped near the Agency. They were in an ugly mood, because of widespread unrest among their people and shortage of rations. The new fort was named Fort Reno in 1876, in honor of General Jesse Reno who was killed at South Mountain September, 1862, while commanding the Ninth Army Corps in this bloody battle. The new Fort Reno included, at first, a garrison of three hundred men, mostly cavalry, and was established for the protection of the forces employed at the Agency as well as the peaceful Indians on the reservation.

Brinton Darlington died May 1, 1872 at the Agency on the reservation. [19] His service as agent was brief though fruitful. He laid the foundation of the future of the Agency for he was indefatigable in his labors. He started the building program here, began agricultural experiments and was

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[17] *Ibid.*

[18] William Brown Morrison, *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma,* (Harlow Pub. Co., Oklahoma City, 1936) p. 147.

[19] Louis T. Jones, *The Quakers of Iowa,* p. 324

responsible for the beginnings of the reservation school. Darlington gives much credit to the school for teaching the Indian women to bake wholesome bread, and to cut out and sew the garments for themselves and their children. Seeing the lack of proper facilities for baking good bread and knowing their desire for it, Darlington had an agency bakery erected where the Indians could take their flour to be baked. This proved conducive to health and contentment on the reservation.

Darlington gave much effort to get the Indians to begin farming, at least on a small scale, but he was able to do little. The agency farmer, however, planted one hundred acres of corn which yielded a good crop. The corn crop suffered from the Indians riding over the fields on their way to the Agency. However poor the Indians were in growing corn, they were successful in boiling roasting ears. [20] The agency farmer also, prepared for the winter months by having two hundred tons of prairie hay cut and stocked so that the Indians would have feed for ponies in the cold winter weather. He pleaded with the Indians to send their children to the agency school. They argued with him that, "It is not necessary to send our children to your school to learn how to kill buffalo; they learned that on the buffalo chase." Darlington wrote in his last report that the Indians who had been a few years since the "terror of the plains," now under proper treatment are not worthy but capable of being advanced in all the ways of a good life. [21]

Brinton Darlington accomplished much in his three years as agent for the Indians learned to love and respect him, and he laid the foundations for further work among them on the reservation.

On June 1, 1872, John D. Miles, who had been the Agent for the Kickapoo in Kansas for five years, was appointed to succeed Darlington. He, too, was a Quaker, and employed only Quakers at the Agency. He worked to restrain the roving disposition of the Cheyennes but they liked buffalo hunting much better than farming, and remained on the reservation only when the buffalo was scarce. When they did come into the Agency, they were often disappointed in the rations, the flour was moldy and wormy, the tobacco half rotten, and the beef was not fresh. Small wonder that the Indians resorted to stealing when they were hungry. Matters were complicated by the presence of traders, buffalo hunters, and whiskey peddlers. General Sherman

[20] John H. Seger, *Early Days Among the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians*, (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1934), p. 6.

[21] *Ibid.*

described a reservation as "a parcel of land set aside for Indians and completely surrounded by white thieves, buffalo hunters, and whiskey peddlers." The Arapaho remained at peace on the reservation, but the Cheyenne were restless and hostile and it was difficult to keep them on or near the reservation.

Birth and Ancestry of Roman Nose

It was during the period of Indian war in the Plains that Roman Nose was born on June 30, 1856, somewhere in the foothills or the Plains of Western Kansas, near the headwaters of the Arkansas River. [22] His Cheyenne name was *Woquini,* with the English translation of "Hook Nose" or "Roman Nose. [23] He was the only child of Shot Nose and Day Woman, both full blood Southern Cheyenne. The father was born in 1834, and the mother died when their son was two years old. His grandfather Limber Nose, and his grandmother were full blood Cheyenne. Thus, Roman Nose was of full blood Cheyenne ancestry recorded for three generations, and had many other generations of tribal ancestry unrecorded before reservation days. [24]

Roman Nose was reared in the nomadic environment of buffalo hunting and tipi dwelling like that of his father and mother, as well as that of his grandfather and grandmother, Limber Nose and Big Crow Woman. The child was with his mother the first four or five years of his life learning to satisfy his wants like any baby, first by crawling and babbling, then by walking and speaking a few Cheyenne words when making his way toward objects he wanted. When he was about eight years old, his father made use of him in herding and riding and roping the ponies. The small boy learned to use the bow and arrow, and soon accompanied his father on nearby hunting and raids. When he was about fifteen, the boy he became a member of a young warrior group capturing ponies and making raids on the white settlements.

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[22] Cheyenne and Arapaho Allotment Records, Concho Agency, Concho, Oklahoma. Since Roman Nose was a Southern Cheyenne, he must have been born in a tipi near the headwaters of the Arkansas River, in Southeastern Colorado or Western Kansas. Evidence of this is indicated because both the Southern and the Northern Cheyenne groups were removed in 1868 to the new Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation in Indian Territory, twelve years after Roman Nose was born.

[23] Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians . . .*, Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 30* (Washington, 1910-11).

[24] Cheyenne and Arapaho Allotment Records, Concho Agency, Concho, Oklahoma. For recorded generations of Roman Nose see *Appendix A* at the end of this article.

Colonel Richard I. Dodge explained in the following account how a very young Cheyenne boys learn to do and to live in their environment: [25]

An Indian boy of twelve or fifteen years of age is simply a miracle in his capacity for sticking to a horse. The older and stronger men are of course much more dexterous in the performance of all kinds of marvelous feats of horsemanship.

At six, seven, or eight years old, the boys begin to be made of use by the fathers, and in time of peace, when there is no danger of loss, except by straying, they are sent to herd the ponies. It is not at all unusual for ten or fifteen of these little urchins to find themselves out for the whole day, and in sole charge of possibly several hundred ponies.

Each may start out in the morning and return in the evening mounted on the same staid old quadruped, but each has with him his "riata," and his bow and arrows, and when all get together they would not be human boys if they did not have a "good time." The "riata" gives them the means of catching any horse at pleasure, and the speed of every horse of the entire herd is known to these little fellows better than their fathers, for every horse is caught in turn, and every day witnesses a succession of horseraces.

When the boys get tired of horseracing, they take to their bows and practice at marks, either on foot or at speed on horseback. Every boy bets, of course (he would not be his father's son if he did not gamble), arrows, knives, strings, nails, pieces of glass, and every boyish trumpetry, and as his gains and losses are known, and commented on by his family, he soon becomes adept not only in his riding and shooting, but in the art of making bets.

I consider the Indian boy, from twelve to fifteen years old, the best rough rider and natural horseman in the world. At about this age he begins to think himself a man, and to yearn for the position, fame, and honor of the warrior. He is given more liberty, younger brothers of the same age and aspirations, wanders about the country in search of the adventure which is to crown his ambition by making him a warrior. No military man can contemplate such a school for recruits without admiration, and one can readily sympathize with the enthusiastic cavalry officer who exclaimed, "Give me the handling and discipline of such recruits as the Indian boys, and I can whip an equal number of any cavalry in the world."

Until he is a warrior the Indian has never had a "drill", or any instruction. All he knows is self-taught. It is the province of the chief to instruct all this energy and capacity as to render it available for concentrated action. The actual force of a thousand men is exactly the same whether the men be disciplined or not. The effect of discipline and drill are simply to concentrate; to make the whole mass a machine which at the will of one, may exert this force in a certain direction or to a certain end. It is the actualization of the old fable of the bundle of sticks.

In time of peace there is very little drill or instruction of any kind by the chiefs or leading men, though sometimes when there are a good many Indians together, a chief may have a "show-drill," or grand parade of mounted men something in the nature of a review. There is no compulsion in the attendance of warriors. The claims of the stomach are always paramount, and those warriors who need meat for their families go look for it, even on drill days.

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[25] Col. Richard I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians,* (Chicago, 1882).

In anticipation of war, the chief may call out his warriors for instruction every day, or at least several times each week. There are no ranks, no organizations, no units of command, each sub-chief being surrounded by his followers in any order that may happen to fall, but there are words or signals of command by which the same evolutions are repeatedly performed, more, it would appear, by the wonderful intuition of the individual Indian than by any instruction that should possibly have been given to him by a lifetime of drilling.

Roman Nose the Young Warror on raids of the Whites

Mrs. Edward B. Wright, Watonga, Oklahoma, said her family had known Roman Nose for many years and that he often visited her home in Watonga. "On one of these visits, he showed us the scars on his breast and arms that he explained were caused by wounds in raids on the whites. He had with him seven scalps that he prized and kept—one red, one blond, and seven brunetts." The red scalp, he said, was considered by the Cheyennes as the prized one and was always sought on the raids of the white settlements. [26]

Carl Sweezy, further reported on Cheyenne raiding: [27]

I was around the Agency and Reservation after the Government moved the tribes to the new reservation in 1868. I came to know Roman Nose, as well as many other young Cheyennes. The Cheyennes looked upon the raids as the only way they could defend their meat supply and their reservations from the White settlers.

A large number of the Cheyennes had their camps up on the North Canadian River. Roman Nose's father, Shot Nose, had his camp up in a big canyon a short distance north from what is now Watonga, Oklahoma. Several years later when the canyon became a State Park, it was named Roman Nose's Canyon. From the time of the removal of the Cheyennes to the Reservation, many Cheyennes made their camps up and down this canyon for several miles. The canyon was an ideal camping site since its high walls protected the camps from the cold weather and winds, it had plenty of good running water, and was located near the grass country of the buffalo. You know the Indians depended on the buffalo for their meat supply and hunted on this part of the Reservation.

Many white invaders rushed in to hunt the buffalos here and the settlers turned their cattle out on the grass ranges. In order to drive these invaders off the reservation land, the Cheyennes made raids on them for the purpose of capturing their horses, destroying their camps, and taking charge of the cattle.

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[26] Mrs. Edward B. Wright, longtime resident of Watonga Oklahoma. Roman Nose's father Shot Nose, had his camp for many years in the canyon later known as Roman Nose Canyon.

[27] Carl Sweezy to Ellsworth Collings, June 21, 1951.

(Courtesy of J. B. Conkhite, Watonga, Oklahoma)

CAMP TIPI OF ROMAN NOSE IN HIS WARRIOR YEARS

Location: in the "Big Canyon" which was later named "Roman Nose Canyon."

Mr. Ebenzer Kinsley, a long-time employee in the Indian Service on the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation, knew Roman Nose and other Cheyennes engaged in the raids during the 1870's. Mr. Kinsley reported: [28]

At that time the northern part of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation was covered with tall bluestem grass and was the grazing grounds of the buffalo herds in that region. The Cheyennes hunted the buffalo here, for they depended on the buffalo for their meat supply. At about this same time the whites from southern Kansas attempted to settle on the reservation land and hunt the buffalo there. This soon brought the whites in direct conflict with the Cheyennes in this section.

In order to drive the whites off their reservation, the Cheyennes engaged in extensive raids on the white settlements. They were organized into several bands, each band was under a war chief. Roman Nose was a member of one of these bands. I'd say he was one of the most skillful riders of his band, and seemed to fear nothing. He could use the bow and arrow with deadly accuracy. His band rode over the prairie at a very fast speed. At the early stages of the raids, they were largely local, but as they became more widespread, and engaged in by the older warriors the Government finally decided to order Fort Supply to send a detachment of soldiers to combat the Cheyennes and protect the white settlers. I've always thought the soldiers should have driven the white settlers off of the Reservation. This was the Cheyennes to restrain their restlessness in wandering around on the Treaty of 1868.

The Red Moon Agency, (site in present Custer County), a sub-agency of the Darlington Agency, was operated on the upper Canadian River, sixty miles almost due northwest of the Darlington Agency to issue food and clothing rations to the Cheyennes camped in that section and to provide a "Beef Issue Day" for their meat supply. This removed much of the complaint of the Cheyennes in having to travel the long distance to the Darlington Agency to secure their food, clothing and meat supply.

I was assigned in the early seventies to work with the Cheyennes at this sub-agency. I was in full agreement with Agent Mile's policy at the Darlington Agency to keep a closer personal contact with the Cheyennes in their camps on the North Canadian in settling their difficulties with the Whites. Like Agent Miles, I worked hard with the Cheyennes to restrain their restlessness in wandering around on the reservation. I was soon able to gain the confidence of the young Cheyennes and was looked upon as their friend in defending their home land. As a result I had much influence with them and they came to me often for advice.

Because my policy of working with the Cheyennes individually I came to know Roman Nose, as well as many of the other Cheyennes in that section of the reservation. Roman Nose was an intelligent

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[28] Mr. Ebenezer Kingsley to Ellsworth Collings, March 15, 1956. Mr Kingsley, a long-time employee in the Indian Service on the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation, had retired from the Indian Service and was living in retirement at the Concho Agency on the reservation. He did not approve everything the Indians did, but he was a man who considered carefully both sides of the Indian issues before arriving at a decision. As a result, he had a good understanding of the Indian's side of the conflects with the white people and could see many mistakes the Government officials had made in handling the Indian problems.

young Cheyenne, very active and fearless. He was more friendly and liked to talk to me about their troubles with the Whites on their Reservation. He felt keenly the Whites should stay off their Reservation and stop the killing of the buffalo. He could see the buffalo was fast disappearing on their Reservation and seemed much concerned where they would be able to get their meat supply. He had a strong conviction that the Government troops should protect them in their rights to the Reservation lands instead of waging war on them.

We talked, at length, some ways that would help in protecting their reservation lands. He felt sure John D. Miles believed the Government troops should protect their reservation in accordance with treaty agreements, but was unable to do anything about it. Roman Nose seemed at a loss, to know why such promises were not carried out by the Government. He felt that if these promises had been followed, these raids would not be necessary.

My effort, in our talks, was to get Roman Nose to consider both sides of the raids. He thought so too. We agreed that the Cheyenne side of the raids had never been considered fully by the officials of the Government and that the White's side was always more influencial in deciding what was done. We, then, talked about how the Cheyenne's side might be understood better. He thought if the officials could understand that the raids were the only way left for them to defend their rights to their home lands, it would be a big help in a better understanding why these raids were carried on against the White invaders. We talked, at length, on some ways the Cheyenne might help in bringing about this understanding. We agreed that the Cheyenne leaders should cooperate more fully with John D. Miles in getting our side of the raids before the officials in Washington. We thought the best way this could be done would be by arranging conferences with these officials, presenting our information to them for their consideration and discussion, and urge them to take immediate action against the invaders. We further agreed that if the first conference failed to get the desired results it should be followed up by additional conferences

Although Roman Nose was willing to listen to others and talk over with me the conflicts with the Whites, he was still a fighting Cheyenne—proud, fearless, restless, and ready to fight at any time for the rights to his home-land. The raids continued on for some time over a wider area without any abatement in fierceness.

Late in June, 1874, the Cheyennes joined the Kiowas and Comanches in attacking the buffalo hunters at Adobe Walls. The fighting began at dawn, July 27, and continued for several days under the leadership of Quanah Parker, the noted chief of the Comanches. The Indians attacked with desperate courage on fast moving horses, striking the white defenders with deadly accuracy. The white hunters had a good supply of food and ammunition, for Adobe Walls post was the headquarters of the buffalo hunters. They were also protected by the solid walls of adobe. The Indians were finally compelled to withdraw, although there were approximately 700 of them [29] The buffalo hunters, in a few days, decided to abandon Adobe Walls and return to

[29] Hodge, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 203.

Dodge City for it was evident there would be further trouble with the Indians. [30]

About forty warriors attacked the Pat Hennessey wagon train the early part of 1874, loaded with sugar and coffee for Agent Haworth of the Kiowa reservation, killing Hennessey and three other men of the train. This was also attributed to the Cheyennes. [31]

When these depredations were reported to the Government, General Nelson A. Miles was ordered south to organize an expedition against these confederated Indians. From July 21, 1874 to February 12, 1875, his whole force was actively engaged in scouting the plains and in waging a relentless war against the Indians whenever and wherever located on the plains.

There were nine distinct engagements of this campaign. [32] Julia and Adelaide Germaine were rescued in one of these. [33] The winter of 1874 was a severe one. The Indians had been hounded by the Army over the plains for several months. As a result, the Indians had neither lodges, food, or ponies for transportation. Their condition was most pitiful and doubtless made them realize for the first time the futility of resisting the Government further.

Roman Nose Appointed Chief of the Cheyennes

At first, and for many years, the Cheyenne Chief was appointed by a local group of Cheyennes on the basis of leadership in war activities, and thus was responsible to the group itself. This system made it possible for the tribe to have more than one Chief, for example, there was Whirlwind, Black Kettle, Little Robe, Stone Calf, Lone Wolf and others.

With the allotment of the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation in 1891, leadership in war activities was no longer possible, and a new type of leadership became the basis for the appointment of the Chief. This new basis included

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[30] Gen. Nelson A. Miles, *Personal Recollections and Observations* (Chicago, New York, 1896).

[31] Ebenezer Kingsley in personal interview with Ellsworth Collings, March 16, 1956. See other references to the "Hennessey Massacre": Sam P. Ridings, *The Chisholm Trail* (Guthrie, 1936), pp. 434-441; Athie Sale Davis, "Annette Blackburn Ehler and the Pat Hennessey Memorial Garden," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 290-98.

[32] Gen. Nelson A. Miles, *op. cit.*

[33] Grace E. Meredith, *Girl Captives of the Cheyennes* (Los Angeles, 1927).

U. S. INDIAN TRAINING SCHOOL

CARLISLE BARRACKS,

Carlisle, Pa. Nov 3rd 1880.

My dear John D. Miles.

I am going to write to you a letter this morning. I would like to tell you about some thing what I am think of it. I wish John D. Miles you will find one room for me in the house and I stay there when I come home. I no like it to live in Indian tents any more, you know most six years now I am living in house and I am sure that I should like to live in house very much indeed must tell me how you are fixed for that. I shall be very glad you must do so what I say to you about one room in house. I expect I will start home may be next summer some time. I do not want our Indian road any more but I am sure that

Facsimile of letter written by Henry C. Roman Nose to Agent John D. Miles, Darlington Agency, Indian Territory. (From the original letter: C & A—Indian Prisoners, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.)

service of the Chief in aiding the Cheyennes as a tribe to meet the new problems arising out of the transition from the old Cheyenne way of life to the white man's way of life. Such problems as assisting the Cheyennes in leasing their allotments and collecting the rental; securing implements, seeds, and livestock for farming; providing food, clothing and housing for the families; and in representing the Cheyennes as a tribe in Washington in cooperating with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs of the Government.

The new system involved leadership in solving the practical problems of daily life in the tribe. Big Jake was approved by the tribe as the first Chief of the Cheyennes under the new system. His appointment became effective immediately following the allotment of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation in 1891. Before that date, the War Chiefs looked after the needs of the tribe.

Big Jake proceeded to assist the Cheyennes in solving their local problems the best he could, although he found the work most difficult because new conditions were thrust so suddenly on the tribe. He made frequent visits to Washington to confer with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs with reference to securing financial assistance which Big Jake thought this important to all the Cheyennes at the time. Because of his advancing age, he found his duties and responsibility as Chief (1891 to 1897) demanded more effort and time than he was physically able to devote successfully to the work. Accordingly, with the approval of the tribe, he appointed Roman Nose, a much younger man, whom he had known and associated with for several years, as his successor for a period of ten years.[34]

As the new Chief, Roman Nose devoted himself enthusically working with the Cheyennes to help solve their local problems, something he had always liked to do. He considered from the beginning this his major problem, and for that reason he devoted a greater part of his time. He made only occasional visits to Washington to confer with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs concerning the living conditions of the tribe. In this connection, he had an opportunity to explain to the Commissioner some of his ideas he considered of paramont importance in improving the present condition of the Cheyennes. He thought the pressing problem was developing peace and good will between the Cheyennes and the white settlers. He was sure little or no progress could be made in improving these conditions so

[34] Paul Goose, son of Big Jake, information to Mrs. Karen Daniels Peterson, Oct. 15, 1960.

long as they looked upon each other as enemies. The Chief wanted to improve this relationship.

He thought another problem was to help the Cheyennes to understand that by taking "white man's road" they would advance to better living conditions. It seemed clear to him that being able to speak English, to read and write, to make things, to produce foods, and build homes would help them to have things they did not then possess. He stated to the Commissioner on one occassion that he planned to devote his efforts and time to these problems and would appreciate any help and suggestions.

After working with the Cheyennes along these lines for about two years, he reported to the Commissioner on one of his visits to Washington, he had been able to achieve a measure of success in developing a better understanding between the Cheyenne and the white people and, as a result, he thought that he had bettered the living conditions of the tribe.

The plan furthered by Roman Nose was in harmony with the Bureau of Indian Affairs policy at the time. Commissioner W. A. Jones issued Roman Nose a Commission on February 10, 1899, naming him as Chief of the Cheyenne, in recognition for his good work. The Commission states that Roman Nose promises, to be always friendly toward white men; also, the white man who may read the commission is requested by the Government to treat Chief Roman Nose in a friendly manner, and be careful to give him no cause to break his promise. [35] The Commission is made out to Henry C. Roman Nose, since Roman Nose added "Henry C." to his name while a student at Hampton and Carlisle. [36]

On one of his visits to Washington to confer with the Commissioner Jones, Chief Henry C. Roman Nose is shown in a photograph, made on the occasion, wearing the Peace Medal that Chief Big Jake had given him. "He, also, carries a pipestem and long stone pipe that appears quilled rather than beaded; and wears a three-strain string of beads bondalier fashion—probably bass beads. His braids are wrapped with fur, perhaps otter or mink. He wears a blanket, vest and two cotton shirts." [37]

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[35] See illustration, copy of the Commission presented Roman Nose.

[36] The addition of "Henry C." to his Indian name is explained in the article by Mrs. Karen Daniels Peterson in this issue of *The Chronicles.*

[37] Photograph is the property of Mrs. Peterson.

For the next eighteen years, Chief Henry C. Roman Nose devoted his efforts and time to assisting the Cheyennes and Commissioner of Indian Affairs to improve the living conditions among the Indians. Roman Nose, while a student at Carlisle, had written the following letter to John D. Miles, Darlington Agency, He expressed his desire to help his Indian friends when he returned from school to improve their living conditions. In this letter, it seemed clear to him, at that time, that peace and good will toward the white people, and learning the trades would help the Cheyennes more than anything else to achieve a better life: [38]

Carlisle, Pa. November 3, 1880

My dear John D. Miles, Agent,
Darlington, Indian Territory.

I am going to write to you a letter this morning I would like to tell you about some thing what I am think of it. I wish John D. Miles you will find one room for me in the house and I stay there when I come home. I no like it to live in Indian tents [tipi] any more, you know most six years now I am living in house and I am sure that I should like to live in house very much indeed. Must tell me how you are fixed for that. I shall be very glad you must do so what I say to you about one room in house. I expect I will start home may be next summer some time. I do not want our Indian road any more but I am sure that I am very anxious to live in house like white people. I told you about a half dozen time that I had throw away my old Indian ways and want them no more. But I have found the other best way of the whites, and I shall never through [throw] away the white man's road but I shall keep it always, and I will live in house always. When I come home to Indian Territory and I am thinking days and nights that I am sure I would anxious to help you make good Indians, and give them a good road of the white man's ways and pray for them to make our hearts good and to be kind to one another and we are going to be friends everybody. That is the different tribes Indians. I be kind everybody and I love them, and I do I will pray to God to help each one of us, and I look up to ask God to make a good Indians all relations and they try to do the best we can and may be we are going in right way and they keep a good mind and they listen everybody what we says about the good ways and try to do right and faithfully. I will tell you about Capt. Pratt he is gone to Dakota Territory and he said that he will get some more the Sioux children and boring [boarding] school here. I think maybe he be home this week some time. All the new Cheyenne children and Arapahoe children like it in this Carlisle School and we getting along first rate and I don't think no one home sick any more but all have been very happy here and learning very fast and some of are learning trades Blacksmith, Carpenter, and Harness makers and Tinsmith shop and Talor [tailor] to making coats vest and pants and the girls are now sewing and making dresses. All the boys are going to sabbath school and church at Carlisle town every sabbath day. We have

[38] Letter from Roman Nose to John D. Miles, Agent, Darlington, Indian Territory November 3, 1880. (Words set in brackets added by Ellsworth Collings.) Original letter is in Indian Archives of Oklahoma Historical Society.

meeting in the chapel every sabbath evening and some boys dose (does) to pray to God. We ask him to help and guide us in right way. All the Cheyenne boys dose not pray to God, they be asham (ashamed) and Captem speak to them and I want them must pray to God to help each one of us in this our school. I had spoke to them about the good ways of the whites. They had a very pleasent time at to the fair at Carlisle and some boys running ball and shooting with bows and arrows. I think they have more nice time it is nearly thanksgiving day. We have plenty to eat dinner. Please tell Mrs. Miles and her daughters and sons I love them.

I am yours faith fully
(Henry C.) Roman Nose

The folowing letters are typical of many requests of the Cheyennes to Roman Nose for assistance in solving their local problems: [39]

1. Roman Nose requests Baker and Bloss, Attorneys, to determine who is entitled to the allotment rental of Little Woman:

Watonga, Indian Territory
11/25/09

Agent at Colony
Colony, Oklahoma

Dear Sir.

Roman Nose was in to see us yesterday to get us to write to you about the rentals of the Little Woman Allotments. It seems by Roman Nose's statement that Little Woman married, her husband died, leaving her one half of his allotment. Little Woman marries again and then died, no issue. Thus her second husband would get one half of her allotments and her mother and brothers and sisters, if any, the other half. The last half to be divided equally between mother and brothers and sisters. According to Roman Nose, Little Woman left 4 half brothers and sisters, 2 by her fathers side and 2 by her mothers side. The 2 by her mother are Henry Roman Nose's children. Henry tells me that his children have been receiving their share of the rentals up until the last two payments, but have been cut off since that time. He does not seem to understand the matter and asked us to write you in regard to the matter.

We are not acting as his attorneys in the matter but are simply writing for Henry Roman Nose. You may either write him or us. If the 2 half brothers and sisters, Henry's children, have been cut off please state reasons for so doing, explane fully.
Thanking you in advance for this information, we are

Yours truly
Baker and Bloss
Attorneys

[39] Copies of letter from Indian Agency, Cantonment, Oklahoma Territory

2. Naimo Chief Killer requests Roman Nose to write for assistance in securing transportation to Superintendent B. E. White, Cantonment Agency, Oklahoma Territory to get her lease money

Bridgeport, Okla. Territory
May 27, 1903

B. E. White United States Indian Agent

Cantonment O. T.

Dear Sir;

I like to know if my money is there at your office. I can not come and get my interest money or my lease money because I have no ponies to come with, or I have no money to pay for my way on train to come to your agency at Cantonment. Now Mr. White U. S. Ind. Agent please send to my interest money or my lease money.

Yours truly
Naomi Chief Killer

Pen of Chief Roman Nose

3. Requests Roman Nose for information on farm crops and best crops to grow on his allotment:

Watonga, Oklahoma Territory
April 7, 1909

Roman Nose, Chief:

I am going try to farm this year and want you to tell me more about farming and best crops to grow. I have a few cows and horse and four young Indians.

Write me
Running Coyote

4. Gray Wolf wrote to Roman Nose he was going to grow a vegetable garden this spring and want your help on best vegetables to grow:

Bridgeport, Oklahoma Territory
April 10, 1907

Dear Mr. Roman Nose;
I need to know best vegetables to grow in my garden. Wish youd send me a list you recommed and where I am can get the seed. I want to grow onions, lettuce, potatoes, sweet corn, petters, and cabbage. Let me hear from you.

Yours
Gray Wolf

In addition to his work as Chief of the Cheyennes, Roman Nose devoted his spare time to the improvement of his land, including building his home. The following inventory of his properties, his complishments or his allotment in 1913: [40]

[40] On February 25, 1913, Roman Nose made application to Walter G. West Superintendent, Cantonment Indian Agency for leasing his land allotment. The inventory above is from this application.

INVENTORY OF LANDS, FARMING EQUIPMENT, AND IMPROVEMENTS

1. One allotment (160 A.), one-third interest in three other allotments. Rough upland, suitable for grazing only, 15 A suitable for farming, 160 fenced.
2. One three-room frame house one story high, painted, concrete foundation, furnished. Value $1800.
3. One barn 24′ x 30′ painted, value $450.
4. No water supply.
5. Crops raised—corn and hay for horses.
6. Four horses, fair condition, value $35. each
7. One wagon valued at $50. one hack value $5.
8. One harrow, one plow, one lister, and one cultivator, value all $100.
9. In debt about $100. Does not use intoxicating liquor.
10. Source of income—lease and annuity.

The Roman Nose Gypsum Company

In 1903 Roman Nose became interested in establishing a Gypsum mill in Roman Nose Canyon for the manufacture of gypsum products. There were large beds of gypsum on his land allotment, and he desired to lease his land to a gypsum company. There is a large file of letters and other material in the Indian Archives Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society concerning the Roman Nose Gypsum Company.

The first of these letters in the file is dated June 19, 1903. It was written by E. L. Hotchkiss, attorney, Watonga, Oklahoma Territory to the Governor of Oklahoma Territory, T. B. Ferguson saying:[41]

> There are large beds of gypsum on the Indian land in Roman Nose Canyon near Watonga; that the land is of little value for anything else, and if these lands could be leased for a reasonable amount, he could get a company to put another mill of 250 capacity per day; that Roman Nose, chief of the Cheyennes, owns this land, and is anxious to lease it. He said there was already a mill at Watonga using 150 ton of gypsite per day.

Then on July 2, 1903, Roman Nose, Cheyenne Chief, Hitchcock, Oklahoma Territory wrote to E. B. White, Indian Agent, Cantonment, Oklahoma Territory, saying: "That he would like to lease for gypsum rock and gypsum dirt, to the one who would pay the most for use of our lands; that he had three ¼ sections in Township 17, Range 12 West and that he wished to lease to John O'Neal, South McAlester, for $75. per quarter section for 3% per ton royalty for 5 or 10 years."

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[41] Copies of statements in letters, from Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, March 6, 1964

Again on July 31, 1903, Roman Nose wrote to Agent E. B. White, Cantonment:

> That man O'Neal came out to my home Friday and wanted me to not let E. L. Hotchkiss have lease, but I want Hotchkiss and his people to have leases for gypsum. O'Neal got me to write letter I wrote but I did not understand. I want mill in my canyon because I know it will make me more money than O'Neal pays. Hotchkiss never paid us but $1.00 to sign leases nor any of his people if they put mill here we can get work and more money.

A letter dated August 1, 1903 from E. L. Hotchkiss to Agent E. B. White states:

> We have been informed that some one has reported to your agency that I furnished a beef and $20. to Roman Nose to sign his lease to our company .... I never paid for any beef or gave any money to induce Roman Nose or his people to sign those leases, except $1. each, as proviede for in the lease. We have met with much difficulty in the past two years in getting our enterprise started in this gypsum business, and, for that reason, we have been more than fair with the Indians in this: We drew that contract between the American Cement Plaster Company for the purchase of gypsum dirt from white men, and that provides for $5. for each 20 T. loaded in car, while ours provides for $6. for each 20 T..

E. L. Hotchkiss on August 22, 1903 signed an affidavit that, among other things, "he is the promoter and instigator of the Cantonment Plaster Company, a corporation organized under the laws of Oklahoma Territory for the manufacture of plaster and prospecting for fuel . . ."

The file includes a mining lease from Roman Nose to John O'Neal, to N W ¼ Township 17 North, Range 12 West, Blaine County, Oklahoma Territory for sale purpose of mining gypsum, approved by E. A. Hitchcock, Secretary of the Interior, June 13, 1904, for five years from January 1, 1904. Also, another lease as the above from Roman Nose, natural guardian of Head Bear, his son, to John O'Neal. On August 1, 1904, John O'Neal, subleased the above two leases to H. K. Beckford, President of the Cantonment Plaster Company.

On January 3, 1906, the Roman Nose Gypsum Company was organized at Bickford, Oklahoma Territory, for the purpose of manufacturing *Chief Brand Gypsum Products* with the following officers; J. L. Enochs, President, Charles W. Bancroft, Vice President and General Manager, and T. E. Enochs, Secretary and Treasurer. On the Company stationary there is a picture in colors of Chief Roman Nose on the left hand side of the letterhead.

On August 2, 1906, the Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs wrote the Superintendent, Cantonment Indian Agency, Oklahoma Territory, forwarding four gypsum mining leases stating: "Heretofore approved by the De-

partment, in favor of Cantonment Plaster Company, embracing allotted lands of certain Cheyenne Indians in Oklahoma, under your charge, which have been assigned by said company to the Roman Nose Gypsum Company. The leases include Killing Over, Left Hand Bull, Little Bird and Standing."

The file shows that on May 10, 1906, H. K. Bickford, as President of the Cantonment Plaster Company, a corporation, conveyed all its property to its successor, The Roman Nose Gypsum Company of Bickford, Blaine County, Oklahoma Territory.

A letter dated April 23, 1927, from L. S. Bonnin, Superintendent, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Concho to J. A. Rennick, Clinton, Oklahoma, relative to a request for an extension of time for active operation by the Roman Nose Gypsum Company under the terms of their mining lease, No. 1, approved by the Department of the Interior, December 17, 1925, wherein a bonus is shown to have been paid in amount of $10.10.

In a carbon copy of a letter from L. S. Bonnin, Superintendent of Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Concho, Indian Territory to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington states: ". . . . On June 13, 1927, an extension of one year on this lease from Jan. 17, 1928 to Jan. 1, 1928, in which to begin development of this lease was given this company. No mining operations were made by the company during the year expiring Jan. 1, 1928, and according to the terms of the lease, it is believed that it automatically becomes null and void . . . ."

Proceeds from the gypsum mines were usually from $3.00 to $13.00 per month to the people holding the mining leases. The Roman Nose Gypsum Company considered this income insufficient to justify continued operation, and discontinued the company, January 1, 1928.

Death of Roman Nose and the Roman Nose State Park

Chief Roman Nose died June 12, 1917 at his home in Roman Nose Canyon at the age of sixty-one years of age. He was survived by his wife, Standing, and two children, White Bead, a daughter, and Head Bear, a son. He had been Chief of the Cheyennes for the past eighteen years. and was known among both Indians and the white people of northwestern Oklahoma. The following article appeared in the *Watonga Republican*, June 17, 1917:[42]

[42] *Watonga Republican*, Watonga, Oklahoma, for June 14, 1917.

Noted Indian Family

Chief Roman Nose, well known among both Indians, and whites of this part of the country died on Tuesday night June 12, 1917 and will be buried today at the Baptist Indian Mission near Watonga. The Ceremonies are to be strictly after the manner of the Christian religion. Roman Nose believed that it was best for the Indian to follow the white man's way and take up the obligations of civilization.

The beautiful, scenic canyon region where the tipi of the proud Cheyenne were located for shelter in reservation days is now a part of "Roman Nose Park," named for Henry Roman Nose, the Chieftain whose life was spent in the transition period from the tribal culture and pattern to that of modern America, leading his people to changes in their ways of living experienced in the last tribal homeland now a part of Oklahoma.

APPENDIX A

The Roman Nose Family: Three generations of full blood Cheyenne since beginning of Reservation Days. [43]

I. Roman Nose Family:

1. Roman Nose (Husband)—Full blood Cheyenne. Allotment No. 2071 Born June 30, 1856. Died June 12, 1917.

2. Wives.
   (a) Red Paint Woman (first wife)—Full blood Cheyenne. married before allotment (1891) died before allotment. Had two children, both died in infancy.
   (b) Standing (second wife)—Full blood Cheyenne. Married before allotment (1891). Allotment No. 2072.
   Standing was previously married to Walking High, from whom she was separated at the time she married Roman Nose.

3. Children
   (a) White Bead (daughter)—Full Blood. Allotment No. 2074
   (b) Head Bear (son)—Full blood. Allotment No. 2075

II. Father and Mother of Roman Nose

1. Father: Shot Nose, Full blood Cheyenne. Allotment No. 629.
   Born 1834—Died August 3, 1904. Married Indian Custom before allotment.

2. Mother: Day Woman (first marriage)—Full blood Cheyenne. Died before allotment.

3. Step-mothehr: Eating Bull (second marriage)—Full blood Cheyenne.

4. Children: First Marriage, son—Roman Nose.
   Second Marriage, son—Little Bird.

III. Grandfather and Grandmother of Roman Nose

1. Grandfather: Limber Nose—Full blood Cheyenne married Indian custom.
   Died before allotment.

2. Grandmother: Big Crow Woman,—Full blood Cheyenne. Died before allotment.

3. Children:
   1. Son: Shot Nose—Full blood Cheyenne.
   2. Daughter: Owl Woman — Full blood Cheyenne.
   3. Daughter: Warpath Woman—Full blood Cheyenne.

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[43] The citizens of Watonga in Co-operation with the National Park Service and the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board established the Roman Nose State Park in 1937, as a recreational center near Watonga in Blaine County. Mr. D. P. Karns, a banker and citizen of Watonga, supported the establishment of the Roman Nose Park, and gave Dr. Ellsworth Collings a copy of a bulletin (October 11, 1955) describing the recreational area, found in *Appendix B* at the end of this article.

Cheyenne ancestry is not traced through a family name. Each person (tribal member) had an individual name. For example: *Shot Nose*, the father of Roman Nose, had one son by his first wife, *Day Woman*, who was given the name "Roman Nose"; by his second wife, *Eating Bull*, another son who was given the name "Little Bird." —References footnotes 23, 24, 25 *q. v.*

APPENDIX B

ROMAN NOSE STATE PARK

Covering a broken wooded canyon area of 520 acres seven miles north of Watonga in the center of Blaine County, this is one of the most interesting of the state parks. Its entrance at the southeastern corner is marked by a huge silhouette in steel and concrete of the head of Roman Nose, the Cheyenne Chief who once lived here and for whom the park was named. In the canyon, to which the park road descends from the high plains, have been provided three ample picnic and parking spaces, a concrete swimming pool, a bath house to accommodate 300 swimmers, a tent camp ground, an organized group camp accommodating approximately 125 people, and a lake for boating. The pool and lake are fed by springs near the western end of the park, the largest of which flows at the rate of approximately 600 gallons a minute. There is a special campground for Indians.

Three fine highways—US 270 and 281, and State 33—connect at Watonga with State 8; and five miles north on State 8 a graveled road branches northwest to the park.

About one and one quarter miles from the entrance, the park road turns westward, and three quarters of a mile farther on reaches the parking area adjacent to the pool. Another branch turns northeast along the bottom of Roman Nose Canyon to a north exit from the park. Trails lead to the more rugged sections of the canyon.

Given to the State by the people of Watonga, the park was developed by the National Park Service in cooperation with the State Parks Division of the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board. Civilian Conservation Corps workers who constructed the park's facilities were quartered at Watonga. The area was opened to the public in 1937.

History:

The divide between the North Canadian and Cimarron rivers which Roman Nose Canyon here gashes unexpectedly was frequently folowed by military expeditions westward from Darlington through the Cheyenne and Arapahoe country to Camp Supply, as well as by traders. Across the South Canadian passed earlier explorers, among them Josiah Gregg, whose *Commerce of the Prairies*, published in 1844, is a classic of frontier history.

The canyon was a favorite winter camp of the Cheyennes and other Plains Indians long before it was included in the reservation set aside for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes in 1867. Here they found shelter, wood and water, and grass for their ponies. In the winter of 1868 promised government rations for the Cheyennes failed to be delivered, and some of the Indians raided into Kansas. Generals Sheridan and Custer followed them south and on the Washita River Custer's command surprised a camp and killed most of the hundred warriors and killed or captured some 50 women and children.

Roman Nose, a young warrior was one of the Cheyenne prisoners sent to Fort Lauderdale, Florida, in 1875, being a young man of about 23 at the time. From Florida he was sent to Hampton Institute,

Virginia, when that Negro school was opened to Indians; and then became one of the first students to attend Carlisle Institute, in Pennsylvania. After Captain Pratt, who had been in charge of the Florida prisoners, founded that noted institution in 1879.

Roman Nose returned to Darlington, the Cheyenne Agency, in 1880 with a good knowledge of English and some training as a tinsmith; and it is said that he served as a scout for the command stationed at Fort Reno, and was with the troops who evicted Capt. David Payne and his Boomers from Oklahoma land previous to its opening to settlement in 1889.

Before the reservation was alloted, Roman Nose's Tipi was in the park canyon near the big spring.

In 1890 the Cheyennes and Arapahoes agreed to take individual allotments of 160 acres each; and in 1892 the surplus lands of the reservation were opened to settlement and the former reservation was added to Oklahoma Territory. Records show that allotments were made to Roman Nose and to Other members of their families including Crooked Nose, Little Walking Woman, Yellow Woman, Walking with Wolf, and Crane Coming.

Natural Features:

Roman Nose Canyon is a deep slash in the Permian Red Beds formation that ranges in thickness from 1,100 to 5,000 feet, and consists of red shales and sandstone which are irregularly stratified with gypsum. On the surface of great eastward-facing scarps from which the ofter shales have been worn away, the gypsum strata appear as broad white bands. Three such bands of gypsum are exposed in Roman Nose Canyon. This Blaine Formation, as it is known to geologists, extends from the Kansas border down the Cimarron, to a point some 40 miles northwest of the park, then to the Canadian to Watonga and, in a less pronounced form, to El Reno. East and north are the fine wheat lands of the former Cherokee Outlet.

Due to its shelter, excellent pasturage, and abundant water in the midst of a wide semi-arid region, Roman Nose Canyon was once a notable hunting ground. Here came buffalo, deer, elk, and antelope—all gone now. Wild bears and mountain lions were native though never numerous. Still found occasionally are wildcats and such smaller fur-bearers as beaver, otter, and mink. Plentiful are cottontail and jack rabbits, 'possums, badgers, weasels, coyotes, ground squirrels, and prairie dogs. Among the snakes are a few rattlers.

Of game birds only the quail has survived in numbers: prairie chickens and wild turkeys, native to the canyon, are practically extinct. Other birds that live and thrive in the park are meadow larks, song sparrows, mocking birds, cardinals, red-wing and common blackbirds, robins, crows, bluejays, owls, hawks, doves, and the flashing Kingfisher. Migratory wild fowl, geese, brant, ducks, coots, and sometimes a pelican and crane, are seen. Coot and wood ducks occasionally nest in the canyon. All wild life is strictly protected.

The park's trees are mainly red cedar, chinquipin oak, burr oak and blackjack; white and slippery elm black walnut, hackberry cottonwood, cittamwood, black willow, mulberry, redbud, and mesquite. Shrubs and vines native to the park are sumac, button bush, sand plum, skunk and buck brush, red dogwood, wild currant, coral bearn, wild grape, virginia creeper, green brier, and that nuisance poison ivy.

Wild flowers include the abundant verbenas, spiderwort, violets, anemones, poppy mallows, ironweed, horsemint, coreopsis, dandelions, and sunflowers, goldenrod, milkweeds, wild onions, devil's shoestring asters, yucca, cactus and thistles.

THE WRITINGS OF HENRY ROMAN NOSE

By Karen Daniels Peterson

FOREWORD

Karen Daniels Peterson (Mrs. Sydney A. Peterson) is a member of the staff of the Science Museum, 51 University Avenue, St. Paul 3, Minnesota. The recently published book (University of Oklahoma Press, 1964) A Cheyenne Sketchbook by Cohoe gives the "Commentary" by E. Adamson Hoebel, well known author on the Plains Indians, Professor of Anthropology in the University of Minnesota, and Karen Daniels Peterson. Cohoe and Roman Nose were among the 72 Plains Indians sent as prisoners of War to Fort Marion, Florida in 1875. It was during her research on these prisoners of War—"Florida Boys"—that Mrs. Peterson became interested in the life and writings of Roman Nose, presented in this number of The Chronicles. Her research on this subject came within the same field of Plains Indian history in Oklahoma, in which Dr. Ellsworth Collings (retired) of the College of Education, University of Oklahoma, and well known writer on Oklahoma historical subjects, had worked a number of years preparatory for an article on Chief Roman Nose of the Cheyenne to be published in The Chronicles. Dr. Collings and Mrs. Peterson have consulted together about their research, the results of which have brought an article by each writer appearing here in the winter number (1964-1965) of this magazine, both articles on Chief Henry Roman Nose but each giving a different phase of his life history. —*Editor*

The main body of the Southern Cheyenne tribe came into the Agency at Darlington on March 6, 1875, and surrendered to the military. Before two months had passed, thirty-three Cheyennes, shackled with chains and heavily guarded, set out in a party of seventy-two Indians of the Plains—Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Comanche, and Caddo—left the Indian Territory, on the long road to St. Augustine, Florida. Late in May they passed under the stone arch of an old Spanish fortress for an imprisonment of three years. [1]

Among the Cheyennes interned to insure the pacification of their tribe were chiefs who led in the late hostilities, braves accused of notorious raids north of the Indian Territory (the Brown, Short, and Germain murders), and eighteen seasoned warriors picked at random,

[1] The writer, Mrs. Peterson makes grateful acknowledgment for the assistance given by many toward this study on the life of Henry Roman Nose including: The American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund); Science Museum of St. Paul, Minnesota; the family of Gen. Richard H. Pratt, particularly Mrs. S. Clark Seelye who generously made available the General's papers; the Oklahoma Historical Society through extraordinary service of Mrs. Rella Looney and Mrs. Louise Cook; the National Archives at Washington, kind interest and service of Mrs. Carmelita Ryan; the Hampton Institute through Mr. Sykes, Mr. Scott and Miles M. Jackson.

against whom no charges were made. One of the eighteen was Roman Nose. Although the published roster lists him as a ringleader, the earlier, more candid report of his agent says: "Roman Nose—No special charge." [2]

How did Roman Nose come to write later, "It is not bad we stayed in prison there"? The aroused sympathy of white men and women, if it did not make these lonely displaced persons entirely happy, at least sped the time with a variety of new experiences. Foremost among these humanitarians was the officer in command of the prisoners, Captain Richard H. Pratt. He quickly cut their shackles, took them on outings, and issued them passes to go into town unattended. Residents invited them to their homes and gave them work. Eastern Indian sympathizers wintering in St. Augustine flocked to the fort and lionized the "Florida Boys." Local women volunteered to staff a school, and Roman Nose received the equivalent of a third or grade education. The erstwhile warriors plainly enjoyed using the newfound skill of writing to communicate his experiences and feelings. His narratives, written in the East, are remarkable for showing camp life, the prison years, and the Eastern seaboard from the Indian point of view: [3]

When I was ten years old in Indian Territory, I commenced to kill buffalo calves, shooting them with bow and arrows, and when I grew up about fourteen years old, I had killed big buffalo good many.

One day that time I killed about seven buffaloes. At my old home in Indian Territory I would go out and search for birds, and when I had found them I shot them with bow and arrows, I had to kill many of them. When I was a little boy I would like swimming very much and I had to catch a great many the turtles in the water, that time I was very glad to catch it and we good to eat the turtles. When I was thirteen years old my father he took me to war against the Pawnees, I was sick and I could not good sleep every night but every day I anxious to go back home to Indian camp.

I will now endeaver to tell you of my experiences and travels from the time I was taken to Florida up to the present day.

It is very warm weather at the South, in winter time it is not very cold and they have no snowing there. I often judge by Florida and St. Augustine, because I had commenced to find good friends there, all the white people in St. Augustine. When we staid there, some time they told us they were very sorry and felt our hearts

[2] S. F. Baird, Catalogue of Casts ..., Proceedings of U. S. National Museum, Vol. 1, 1878, in Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 19, 1880, p. 207; Agent John D. Miles to Commissioner Smith, April 29, 1875, in National Archives, Record Group 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs (hereinafter cited as NA).

[3] Henry C. Roman Nose, An Indian Boy's Camp Life, *School News*, Carlisle, Pa., Vol. No. 1, June 1880, p. 1. His writings are presented intact except for dividing run on sentences, unless it is indicated otherwise.

(Choate Photograph. Courtesy of David Pendleton Okerhater)

Henry C. Roman Nose as a Student at Carlisle Institute, Carlisle, Pennsylvania (1879-1883).

sadness. But Capt. R. H. Pratt helped us to support our sad hearts and took us away from all sadness and bad thoughts and sinners. He can show to us our hearts properly and he is anxious to make Indian men do right and guide them in the right way and he taught them all about the good ways of the whites. We promise to listen to Capt. R. H. Pratt to what he said. They stayed in prison there three years and we had no school [heretofore], but Capt. Pratt showed us ABC and now we understand these letters, we did not know how to spell anything. It is not bad we stayed in prison three years there. But just they have certainly benefited, we stayed altogether in Fort Marion the white people call Indians Florida boys. Capt. Pratt had two small boats for Indians to go out on the ocean hunting birds and fishing they caught very large sea fishes. Sometimes we rode in sailboat beyond St. Augustine about eighteen or twenty miles to camp, hunt and fish and swim in the ocean. We lived in tents like soldiers, we made bows and arrows and we were seeking for sea beans near ocean beach and we obtained lots of them and brought them to Fort Marian and we polished them and after necessary polishing, we sold them and bows and arrows also, and we drew Indian pictures for the people who visited Fort Marion. [4]

They bought sea beans bows and arrows and pictures. Indians sold sea beans each at twenty five cents and bows and arrows one dollar and a half Some two dollars and a half and best bows and arrows for five dollars. I commenced to learn how to row a boat there and some Florida boys learned very well. All the Florida boys commenced to learn to say Capt. Pratt when we anxious something to buy went in Capt. Pratt's office and asked him if we could go down town to St. Augustine and he would say all right and he would give them the pass to St. Augustine.

Capt. Pratt supported all the Florida boys in St. Augustine and he procured for the Indians everything. All the Indians were very glad and we like Capt. Pratt very much because he is a great good man and his heart is weight [strong?]. They had meeting in Ft. Marion every Monday evening to pray to God to guide us in the right way. We had very pleasant time the 4th of July in St. Augustine also in the middle of the winter we had more jolly times at Christmas day we had shooting with bows and arrows the best shoot received three dollars and a half and some of them footracing and who beat running got three dollar and a half. Capt. Pratt taught me, and I kept persevering and I remember what he taught me in St. Augustine. [5]

As the three years of imprisonment drew to a close, twenty-two of the more promising students in the prison school expressed a desire to remain in the East for further education, among them Roman Nose. When a penurious government refused financial aid, the white friends whom Roman Nose had come to regard and trust assumed the obligation. A devoted and pious teacher at the prison, Mrs. Horace Caruthers, and her physician

[4] Hoebel and Peterson, *op. cit.*, show Cohoe's sketches (Plates 10 and 11) show the tents, sailboat and the big fish (Water Buffalo) mentioned by Roman Nose. The camp mentioned was at Matazans Inlet. (See reference to Hoebel and Peterson book in Foreword.)

[5] Experiences of H. C. Roman Nose, *School News* Autobiographical material on pp. 2-10 of the present paper is from Vol. 1, No's. 7—10, Dec. 1880—March 1881 [p. 1] unless otherwise designated.

husband had been wintering in St. Augustine for several years. According to Captain Pratt's contemporary statement, she it was who first, in the spring of 1877, conceived the idea of financing the education of some of the prisoners after their release, particularly two or three "who possess such fine abilities and traits of character." She initiated fund-raising among Eastern churchmen, her fellow-townsmen of Tarrytown, New York, and the citizenry of St. Augustine. Some concerned people produced home-talent shows to raise money for the cause. Thus it came about that ex-warrior Roman Nose, with several of his cohorts, sang a song "written by a lady" at "an evening with Mother Goose and the children" in the dining room of the Magnolia hotel. The interest aroused guaranteed that not only the two proteges of Mrs. Caruther but the other twenty could have their three years in the East. The two whose surpassing ability and character were the springboard for this far-reaching movement were Tsaikopeta and Roman Nose. On April 18, 1878, the last three Florida Boys left St. Augustine in the custody of Dr. and Mrs. Caruthers. The question of the future of the Indians was left open. After a stay at the Caruthers home they might remain there, join the others at Hampton, or (one of them) stay in a home to be found by Dr. Charles Force Deems, pastor of the noted Church of the Strangers, New York.[6]

Roman Nose, the Plainsman, afterward remembered vividly his initiation as a seafarer:

> After three years twenty-two men desired to be educated at Normal Institute, at Hampton Virginia and some went to school at Syracuse New York, and some of them in Tarrytown N. Y. then came at Florida boat to St. Augustine and all the Florida boys went on steam-boat and went to Hampton Normal School. Two Kiowa boys and I stayed in St. Augustine. Then after a while we rode in the cars and we came to a very small town [Tocoi] and we took steam-boat to Jacksonville and stopped there all night. Then in the morning we went on steam-boat to Savannah and arrived there at about six o'clock a. m. and we stayed one or three hours, we then took another large steam-boat for New York and crossed the Atlantic Ocean three nights and three days we traveller on the ocean. I couldn't see any

[6] Sources for the above statements and excerpts from the Roman Nose letters that follow include:—An Indian Raid on Hampton Institute,—*Southern Workman*, Vol. 7, No. 5, May 1878, p. 36; Mrs. Horace Caruthers, "The Indian Prisoners at St. Augustine," *The Christian at Work*, Sept. 1877, p. 198; "Local News and Gossip," *Tarrytown Argus*, July 14, 1877, p. 3; *Gospel Messenger and Church Journal of Central New-York*, Vol. 3, No. 28, April 1878, p. 223; "A-take-e-ah-ome," handbill, March 4, 1878; "Those Indians—All About Them," *Tarrytown Argus*, April 27, 1878, p. 2; Pratt to Commr. Hayt, Apr. 23, 1878, Pratt Papers; Pratt to Bishop H. B. Whipple, Apr. 1, 1878, Bishop Henry B. Whipple Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

land where I looked to the south and east and west. I thought the steam-boat would drop beneath the waves but it did not drop. I was scared very much and I was sea-sick on the ocean. I layed down all the time and I could not eat breakfasts, dinners or suppers, we arrived at New York City at evening about six o'clock and we go out and went in carriage and go to Depot and we stayed there a few minutes. Then we rode in the cars and go up the Hudson river and reached Tarrytown in the night and we rode in carriage to Dr. Caruthers's house and sat down around table we ate supper. That time I was very lazy because that I had been very sea sick and felt very tired. After a few days I got strong again and well.

In an interview with the Florida Boys on their arrival at Tarrytown, a reporter obtained their autographs as evidence that Indians could indeed learn to write.[7] When Roman Nose wrote "Who-Whin-Ny, Roman Nose, twenty years old, (Cheyenne)," it was the last time known to this writer that he used the form of his name under which he enrolled as a captive. He never again signed his Indian name, nor used "Roman Nose" without a given name. A number of the Florida boys took the names of their white friends or patrons. Henry Caruthers Roman Nose memorialized Amy and Horace Caruthers and perhaps Richard Henry Pratt. We may be sure that from these sincere, dedicated friends Roman Nose learned a great deal more of the white man's way than the skills mentioned in the newspapers—household chores, and the reading, speaking, and writing of English.

Henry Roman Nose revealed in his own account his attachment first for Captain Pratt, and then, for Dr. and Mrs. Caruthers:[8]

I thought that perhaps I never was to see Capt. Pratt again but after a month he arrived at Tarrytown to see those three boys who was there. I was much pleased to see him once again and he stayed with us only one day. He said to us he would visit Hampton and see more of the Florida boys that was in Normal School. Before he went away, he wanted me to write to him and after he went away I wrote him a letter.

He didn't reply to my letter and I did not hear from him but he went out west and when came back to Washington then he obtained my letter and he replied immediately and said in his letter, he wanted me and the other boys to go to Hampton School but I didn't like to go to Hampton. I wanted to stay at Tarrytown New York. I started to Hampton and we arrived at New York City a. m. and saw a great many of the white people in New York, we had a very pleasant time just the same as the 4th of July 1878. At Dr. Deems house we had dinner who is my friend. Then after dinner I had to shake hands with him and also his family and I bid them good-bye . . . .

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[7] "Those Indians—All About Them," *Tarrytown Argus*, April 27, 1878, p. 2.

[8] References given in fn. 6, *q. v.*

We took another steamer and went to Hampton. We arrived at the Fort [Fortress Monroe] in the night. We went in carriage to Hampton about mile and a half from the Fort. By permission we went through the corn field and Capt. Pratt told us that this field and the other fields were all worked in by the Florida boys plowing and hoeing every day. We arrived at General Armstrong's house and got out of the carriage and went to where the Florida boys stayed in two houses. I was very much delighted to see my Florida friends again and we shook hands with them all. Then we went into the room and stayed all together and they told me all about what they had been doing at Hampton Institute. We said that it is very hard toiling every day. We had hard work all the summer, learning how to work on the farm. The Normal School opened at Hampton on the first of October. Then we went to school every morning and afternoon and learned some thing every day and we worked very hard two days, in a week Friday and Saturday. One of the Kiowa boys learned very fast. His names is "Ki-e-sh-co-ly." His English name is Hunting Boy. The rest of the Florida boys didn't learn very fast. The reason that didn't learn more rapidly was because some of them was too old to learn. We studied hard there one year and learned some thing every day....

I received your letter and was very glad to hear from you. I like my new friends here very much. I am going to try hard to work and to do some things every day. By and by I will be a strong man and a good man and learn a good ways. I am going to try to open my eyes and to learn to talk English much. White people talked with me and said you speak English and I said no, I cannot much speak English now. I will try hard to learn to speak English little. I will always remember your talk about the Bible that If ye love me keep my commandments: This is my commandment that ye love one another as I have loved you; ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you—and another that is God helps the man who helps himself—I love that God and I do pray that God to help me and he will give the holy spirit and a good heart to do right.

I must go up stairs and sleeps, so I must say good night....

I want to go stayed here a little longer and then when I am going away I will stoped at Tarrytown with Mrs. Caruthers and I want to stayed there.... What do you think? Must tell me right away. I wrote you a great many times and you do not answer it from my letters and perhaps you do not like me .... I am in a great hurry to know which I go....

Hampton Institute in Virginia was visited by Agent John D. Miles, of the Cheyenne-Arapahoe Agency at Darlington, soon after Henry Roman Nose arrived at the school. The young Cheyenne's first appearance as spokesman for his people revealed his desire for an education. The Agent in his own response recognized the influence of Roman Nose over his people on their tribal reservation out in Western Indian Territory. This interview between Miles and Henry Roman Nose appeared in the press of 1878:[9]

"Roman Nose in his speech to Agent Miles said: 'I stay here three years. I learn English. I learn to work.

[9] *Southern Workman*, Vol. 7, No. 12, Dec. 1878, p. 95.

I know something. Then I go to Indian Territory, I teach my people, all my friends.' After he had concluded his speech Agent Miles replied: 'I want to say to you, Roman Nose, and to all these boys, that you have begun to teach your people already. Your letters, Roman Nose, that you have written to your father, have had such an effect on the old man that he has thrown away his blanket and wears white men's clothes—and has gone to work regularly. He comes into the agency regularly to hear from you. He is really very much changed and that entirely through the influence of your letters. . . . You are doing good now. You are on the right road. Stick to it.'"

Roman Nose was baptised Henry Caruthers by the Rev. John H. Denison, chaplain of the Normal School, in the undenominational Bethesda chapel in March 1879.[10] Of the twelve Florida boys then admitted to the Christian church, he was one of the three who took English names.

At the close of the school year several of the boys had the privilege of meeting the President, but Roman Nose appears to have been unimpressed: "In the Spring Capt. Pratt took several boys and went to Washington and saw President Hayes he said he was very glad to see those boys, we stayed several days at the Smithsonian Institute and then returned to Hampton Virginia."

As early as the previous November, General Armstrong was considering placing some of the Indians on farms.[11] Captain Pratt then proposed that, to make room for more Indian girls and restore a balance of the sexes, as well as to "acomplish more for the boys and the Indian cause in general," he would place most of the Florida Boys where they might have experience in agriculture or trades for six months of each year. Henry told the culmination of these plans the next summer:[12]

> At the desire of Capt. Pratt and General Armstrong twelve of the Florida boys went to a small town called Lee in the state of Massachusetts. We left Hampton after dinner and walked to the Fort to where the boat stopped and waited there about one hour and then took the steam-boat to Norfolk, we arrived there about half past 4 o'clock p. m.
>
> We then took another steamer for New York where we arrived safely. Capt. Romeyn [13] went with the boys to Norfolk and when we got out there he said to the boys, Capt. Pratt will meet you in New

[10] "Record of Indian Progress," *Southern Workman*, Vol. 8, No. 5, May 1879, p. 55.

[11] "Indians at School," *Philadelphia Evening Press*, Nov. 22, 1878.

[12] Pratt to Commissioner Hayt, Jan. 14, 1879, p89, NA, Letters Received, Miscellaneous, 1879.

[13] Brevet Captain Henry Romeyn, military instructor at Hampton.

York, after we shook hands and bid him good-bye, he said, boys I hope all of you will have a good time where you are journeying. Then he returned to Hampton Normal Institute. In the night at about nine o'clock, we took the steamer for New York and after one day and one night on the ocean traveling, we reached New York, some of the boys were very sea-sick and I too. Capt. Pratt met us in steam-boat and he said, boys you sleep in boat until morning and I will come back for you, he came very early next morning and called the boys to get up and get ready to start to a restaurant to get some breakfast, then we took a walk to Grand Central Depot and took the train to Lee, we arrived at Lee at half past two p. m. We got out and went in carriage to different places. We stayed there all summer and learned mowing with scythe and milking and churning butter and worked every day for months.

On Sundays, there was no farm work. The Florida Boys usually came from their various farms to assemble at the church for services in the morning, Bible class in the afternoon, and a prayer meeting afterwards. Roman Nose was reported among those who were cordially welcomed when they attended an observance of the Lord' Supper.[14] He adjusted with alacrity to the new setting in the Berkshire Mountains, without the difficulties in health, aptitude for farm work, or relations with employers that beset some of the others. Henry wrote to Pratt:[15]

I received your letter and was very glad to hear from you. I like my new friends here very much. I am going to try to work and to do some things every day, by and by I will be a strong man and a good man and learn a good ways. I am going to try to open my eyes and to learn to talk English much. White people talked with me and said you speak English and I said no, I cannot much speak English now, I will try hard to learn to speak English little. I will always remember your talk about the Bible that If ye love me keep my commandments: This is my commandment that ye love one another as I have loved you; ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you—and another that is God helps the man who helps himself—I love that God and I do pray that God to help me and he will give the holy spirit and a good heart to do right—

I must go up stairs and sleeps, so I must say good night.

When the time for leaving Massachusetts drew near, the young man had plans to return to Tarrytown and his white mother. Impatiently he prodded Pratt:[16]

I want to go stayed here a little longer and then I am going away I will stoped at Tarrytown with Mrs. Caruthers and I want to stayed there .... What do you thing? Must tell me right away. I wrote you a great many times and you do not answer it from my letters and

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[14] Etahdleuh Doanmoe to Mr. R. [James C. Robbins, a Hampton instructor], July 10, 1879, Southern Workman, Vol. 8, No. 8, Aug. 1879, p. 85.

[15] Roman Nose to Pratt, June 1879, ibid.

[16] Roman Nose to Pratt, Sept. 9, 1879, Pratt Papers.

perhaps you do not like me . . . . I am in a great hurry to know which I go . . . .

His pleas were lost on Pratt, who was deeply involved in plans of his own. Convinced that it would be better for the Indians to have a separate school, he had by zealous labor obtained the deserted army barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, for an Indian school. Before Roman Nose's letter reached him, he had set out for the West to procure younger pupils, whom he believed would learn more readily than the mature Florida Boys. Most of the latter were to go to Carlisle not only for schooling but to help repair the rundown barracks and to "leaven with their civilization the lump of barbarism" of the new students.[17] The group from Lee arrived at Carlisle on October 6 just before Pratt and his young recruits.[18] When Henry Roman Nose came face to face with the old way of barbarism, the extent of his acculturation in four years was fully revealed. Not only did he feel disgust for Indian apparel: He believed in "the white man's good way." Nevertheless, his chief concern was still for his "Benighted Race." With a prayer for them he ends his autobiographical account:

In October 1879, we left Lee and arrived here at Carlisle Barracks. We saw the Sioux boys and girls had to wear Indian clothes and the Florida boys did not like that kind of clothes. It looked like wild Indian people who had learned nothing but just play every day and night and punishing each other and fighting with sticks and hurting their bodies, but Capt. Pratt throwed away old Indian clothes and he gave them new white man's clothes and assisted them very patiently to make the boys and girls of different tribes go one way that is the right way the white man's way. Now we are following the white man's way and endeavoring to get education and do something useful and teach the red man avoid temptation. First I did not know anything about the white man's ways. I am very happy now that I can be useful polite and love God. I do not say I am always polite and good because I don't know when sometimes when bad thoughts comes or sin. But God will keep us from sin and he will aid us in the right way and I pray that he will Bless all our Benighted Race and show them their error and at last lead us with the white man's good way is the prayer of *Henry C. Roman Nose.*

The role of Roman Nose as evangelist for the white man's way appears sincere. It was the result of five years' association with white friends and mentors who personified the best of that way of life. His mission, begun by the conversion of his father, was to show all his people the new road.

The narratives reveal a turning-point in the emotional life of Henry Roman Nose. For a five-year period

[17] The Carlisle School, Oct. 9 [1879. No publisher.]

[18] Field Office Records, Carlisle Indian School, NA.

he was ignored by his captain. Except in routine reports on all the Florida boys, Roman Nose went unmentioned by Pratt in print, in manuscript letters, and in his memoirs. The young man had won the tentative approval of Dr. and Mrs. Caruthers, only to have them pass him by and take Tsaitkopeta as their son. Dr. Deems gave him a dinner but not a home. Then, early in April, 1880, the rejected youth found himself the object of intense interest on the part of Pratt. Roman Nose reciprocated with the effusive praise that runs through his narratives. The events that led up to this change were a natural sequence. He had quickly adjusted to the newcomers and the new school, while he continued sending his filial exhortations to Shot in Nose, alias Naked Turkey.[19] He wrote to Agent Miles on Christmas Day:[20]

> Tell father (without feather Turket) I want him must working hard and pushed hard to get lots money .... I am glad that my father is got the white man's way. You know me that always I am going to try to do right and I am learning to do something every day and I have only little speak English just now .... all we have been happy here this school .... This morning we have a very nice times and all have enough to eat Christmas day dinner. [25]

Others of the young men did not share his satisfaction with Carlisle and grew restless. Some had wives and children at home; some found book-learning increasingly difficult; some had caught the fatal consumption. In small groups they left for home, until Roman Nose reported to General Armstrong March 13: "All the Indians we are going to school every morning and in the afternoon .... I am very sorry for my friends most of gone home the Florida boys and I shall miss them very much and think of it them very often. Only three the Florida boys here now. Matches Koba and I."[21]

Richard Pratt, as a poor and fatherless lad of 18 in Indiana, had been apprenticed to a tinner: "Twenty years later, asking for workshops at Carlisle School, its superintendent proudly informed the Indian office that he himself was competent to teach the tinner's trade."[22] In the year and a half commencing April 1, 1880, the Carlisle tin shop manufactured and sent to forty-two

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[19] Cheyenne Prisoners, Ms. list, Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives, Cheyenne and Arapaho Files (hereinafter cited as *C & A*), Prisoners.

[20] Roman Nose to John Miles, Dec. 25, 1879, *C & A*, Carlisle Indian School.

[21] Roman Nose to Gen. Armstrong, Mar. 13, 1880, Southern Workman, Vol. 9, No. 4, April 1880, p. 44.

[22] Elaine Goodale Eastmen, *Pratt, the Red Man's Moses*, (Norman, 1935), p. 15.

(Choate Photograph. Courtesy New York Public Library)

Tinner's Apprentices at Carlisle Institute, 1880. Left to right: Charles Ohettoint, Kiowa: Capt. R. H. Pratt, Superintendent; Henry Roman Nose, Cheyenne; Paul, son of Blue Bear, Pine Ridge Agency; J. H. Curtin, Instructor; Earnest, son of White Thunder, Rosebud Agency; Koga, Kiowa.

different Indian agencies no less than 1,373 quart cups, 4,110 pint cups, and 2,306 larger utensils.[23] As one of the older students, Roman Nose had the opportunity to star in an experiment dramatizing Pratt's conviction that the Indian could and should be taught a trade. After three months the young man was reported in the school paper as making very good tin cups, and other things as well:[24] "Mr. Curtin, the tin-smith, says that Roman Nose and Koba are as good apprentices as he ever saw anywhere, and he recently put a challenge—not yet taken up—into a Carlisle paper offering to back Roman Nose for $100 against any apprentice in the trade who had been at it the same length of time."[25]

Pratt wrote later of Roman Nose: "While here he was very ambitious to perfect himself as a tinner, proving his practical christianity by often informing us in Sabbath evening meetings, the exercises of which are mostly by boys, how hard he was trying to make good tin-cups. One great incentive to labor always seemed to be, that on his return home he would be able to supply his people with tin-ware."[26]

It was not all work and no play for Roman Nose. In the summer Pratt allowed him to revisit New York for ten days. Dr. Deems' son showed him the sights of the city—the elevated, a skyscraper-view of the area ("just like the birds"), the aquarium, the zoo. He went on to Tarrytown, where Tsaitkopeta took him to prayer meeting and walked with him on the hill where they "saw Hudson river long way." Roman Nose with his customary religiosity was receptive to Tsaitkopeta's theology. "He explain commandments to me and teach me about Bible some good things I don't understand before and I very glad."

After his return Roman Nose went to the school's camp in the woods at Warm Springs for a week:[27]

> When I get through school and work then I will return to my old home in Indian Territory. When I get there I think maybe I will help all my Indian people and teach them about the good way of the white man road and to love God. They will pray for him to make good Indian men and women. I will teach the Indians what I have learned at school and I will teach them how to work in the white man's ways. I like tin-smith shop very much and I want to learn well how to make tin cups, baskets, pail & c.

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[23] *Eadle Keatah Toh*, Carlisle, Pa., Vol. 2, No. 3, Oct. 1881, p. 1.
[24] *School News*, Carlisle, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 1880, p. 3.
[25] *Southern Workman*, Vol. 9, No. 8, Aug. 1880, p. 86.
[26] *Morning Star*, Carlisle, Vol. 3, No. 6, Jan. 1883, p. 4.
[27] *Eadle Keatah Toh*, Carlisle, Vol. 1, No. 4, July 1880; *School News*, Carlisle, Vol. 1, No. 4, Sept. 1880.

Naked Turkey, who at his son's urging had not only quit the blanket but bought a farm, sent a message urging his boy to come home, and the dutiful son gave his consent and the admonition, "I hope you all have horses and corn-fields cattle, hogs and working hard to make your homes look nice." Captain Pratt, with something more than a pleasure trip in mind, arranged that Roman Nose should visit the Agency while Agent Miles was recruiting new students for Carlisle. The youth left Carlisle on August 2. Five days, six trains, and a mail wagon later (all at a cost of $30.00) Roman Nose was in the bosom of his family. "I was very much pleased to see my father brothers and sisters and uncles cousins and all my relatives, also they were very happy to see me. I staid in Darlington three weeks. I rode my horse every day and I traveled all around the Indian camps. When I stayed there I was very tired."[28]

If, after his tour of the camps, he was disappointed at not finding a corn field behind every tipi, he raised no lament. Realistically he seized the opportunity to start on his mission of pointing out to his people the right road. He boasted later of the telling results achieved by his persuasive powers of speech:[29]

> All the Cheyenne Chiefs and young men, I spoke to them about the good ways of the whites. I told them all about the Indian children at Carlisle Barracks Pa. I told them what they had learned here at school and at work. All the Cheyenne chiefs were very glad to hear that Capt. Pratt has taken good care of the Indian children here. All the Cheyenne chiefs and Arapahoe chiefs they thought Capt. Pratt a great and good man. I told them Capt. Pratt is a great man I know his heart is true and faithful. I asked all the chiefs for the children to come here to Carlisle school. The North Cheyenne do not want to send the children to school here. [35] But some Cheyenne and Arapahoe kind to me and gave me twenty-one Cheyenne children and ten Arapahoe children to bring to this school. If I did not go down to Cheyenne agency, John D. Miles could not get the children to bring to Carlisle Barracks. Some Cheyenne do not want their children to come here to school. September sixth I came back here. I was very glad to see Carlisle Barracks and all my friends the white people and different tribes of the Indian children.

The Christian love of Henry Roman Nose embraced his erstwhile enemies both red and white, even to the children of the hated Pawnees.

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[28] S. C. Armstrong, Indian Education at the Hampton Norman and Agricultural Institute, p. 11, Hampton, Va., 1881; School News, Carlisle, Pa., vol. 1, No. 2, June 1880,; Pratt, telegram to Miles, July 29, 1880, *C & A*, Carlisle Indian School; Pratt to Miles, Aug. 5, 1880, *C & A*, Carlisle Indian School.

[29] A portion of the Northern Cheyennes were residing against their wills at Darlington. *School News*, Vol. 1, No. 5, Oct. 1880, pp. 1, 4.

He returned from his triumphal tour with a new-found eagerness to take up man's work:[30]

> Under the instruction of Mr. Curtin who will try to teach me to make tinware as soon as possible, I will then go home and open a business for my self at Indian Territory." In the fall his fine tinware won him 50¢ at the Cumberland County Fair, but his foot racing and shooting with bow and arrow paid better, with a premium of $1.00 each. By December he had "made a dozen tin cups for Capt. Pratt which can't be beat. He works assiduously at his trade showing more zeal and working capacity than is usual with Indians.

Roman Nose's thoughts began to turn homeward. Koba, his Kiowa fellow farmhand and tinsmith-apprentice, had returned to Indian Territory with Matches, the Cheyenne, in September.[31]

In a burst of confidence Roman Nose poured out his day-dreams to his agent. As a proper beginning, Miles must see to it that Roman Nose could live like a white man:[32]

> I wish John D. Miles you will find one room for me in the house and I stay there when I come home. I no like it to live in Indian tents any more .... You must do so what I say to you about one-room in house .... I had throw away my old Indian ways and want them no more. But I have found the other best way of the whites and I shall never through away the white man's road but I shall keep it always and I will live in house always .... I would anxious to help you to make good Indians and give them a good road of the white man's ways and pray for them to make our hearts good and to be kind to one another and we are going to be friends every body. That is the way I do it. I loves all my white friends and all our relatives of different tribes Indians .... and they listen everybody what we says about the good ways and try to do right and faithfully .... We have meeting in the chapel every Sabbath evening and some boys dose to pray to God. We ask him to help guide us in right way. All the Cheyenne boys dose not pray to God. They be asham and I often speak to them and I want them must pray to God to help each one of us in this our school.

By January 1881 he had determined to go home and find a wife. Accompanied by his teacher, J. H. Curtin, he left March 15 with the avowed intent of teaching his people. Before his departure the pupils at Carlisle had a "nice supper" in his honor, after which he made a speech advising the others to "try hard and learn all you can."[33] With characteristic paternal concern for his charge, Captain Pratt told the agent:[34]

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[30] *Ibid.*, p. 4; *Eadle Keatah Toh*, Vol. 1, No. 7, Nov. 1880, p. 4; *ibid.*, No. 8, Dec. 1880, p. 3.

[31] "Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia," (Hampton, Va., 1893), p. 325.

[32] Roman Nose to Miles, Nov. 3, 1880, C & A, Prisoners.

[33] School News, Vol. 1, No. 10, March 1881, p. 3.

[34] Pratt to Miles, Jan. 11, 1881, *C & A*, Prisoners.

> Roman Nose has done as well as any tinner's apprentice could do and is now capable of making a great many articles of the smaller tinware quite as well as ordinary Jours [journeymen], but there is no originality in him yet nor ability to cut his own patterns or make larger of more difficult things. On the first of April he will only have been working at the business a year. He is quite determined about going home and getting married .... He could go out and make coffee pots, pans, buckets, cups, & c, for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes.

Pratt prodded Miles to set up a tinshop, adding, "His work will not only be a good example, but it will pay." In April Miles wrote: "I have placed Roman Nose in the saw-mill for the present. I have estimated for some 'shops' for the [Florida['boys' and think Secretary Kirkwood will help us liberally to hold the 'boys' by giving them employment. We can't afford to let one of them go back to camp for want of an opportunity to work."[35]

Roman Nose's $20-a-month position lasted from April 15 to June 30. In September Miles reported, "Roman Nose is just the same; no sign of relapse." Near the end of November the tinner's outfit which was to be managed by Roman Nose arrived at the agency.[36] But the agent told Pratt:[37]

> Roman Nose . . . desire [s] to return to your charge . . . to complete his apprenticeship as *tinner* ... Roman Nose thinks that his present knowledge of the tinner trade is not quite sufficient to warrant him in assuming charge of the Agency shop which we propose opening the coming spring—and he thinks that by applying himself closely to business in your shop of a few months that he will gain a sufficient knowledge to carry our Agency shop. and it is my judgement that such a course would pay big in the end. I know he would now apply himself more closely to business than ever before having in prospect the position of foreman in the Agency shop and it is also due to him to have sufficient knowledge of the trade to have confidence in himself—this he does not seem to have at present.

On July 1, 1882, Miles nominated as tinner another returned prisoner, Star, who had had no formal training in the trade.[38] By the following January, shops had been built for carpenter and blacksmith, but not for tinsmith. Roman Nose complained to Pratt, "I have ask Agent about three or four times for I want to working my tin trade and I getting tired to ask Agent Miles."

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[35] *Ibid.*, Mar. 21, 1881, and April 21, 1881.

[36] Roster of Agency Employees, 1880—81, p. 135, NA, Statistics Division; Miles to Pratt, Sept. 28, 1881, Annual Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1881, p. 193; Cheyenne Transporter, Dec. 10, 1881, p. 282.

[37] Miles to Pratt, Nov. 28, 1881, Cheyenne and Arapahoe Letterbook, Sept. 2, 1881—Feb. 2, 1882, p. 243, *C & A*.

[38] Miles to Cimmissioner Price, July 19, 1882, NA, Letters Received, Land and Education, 13624—82.

Pratt corroborated his words: "In all his letters since his return he had deplored not having a shop where he could work his trade."[39] The procrastination would appear to have been on the part of Miles rather than of Roman Nose. Whether it stemmed from personal animosity or from inability to construct the building deemed necessary by Roman Nose can only be guessed. The pitifully small funds at the agent's disposal could not be stretched to cover even the urgent needs; further, in the very year of Roman Nose's plaint to Pratt, Congress reduced the funds. However, to many a subsequent agent Henry Roman Nose was a *bête noire.*

Many changes had taken place in the eight years since he was spirited away in chains. The buffalo was gone, the land was too dry for successful farming, and government rations left the Cheyennes with an ever-present hunger. The Indians could not leave the reservation without a permit. On the reservation there was no protection under the law, no title to property, no incentive for work. Indeed, the returnees who presumed to work were ridiculed by the conservative chiefs, who were jealous of the "educated young men." Some of the latter, cut off from their people by a great gulf, found it too hard to hold out against the old customs and went back to a life of ignorance and superstition.

The two years after his return was a period of disillusionment for Roman Nose. Things did not work out as he had envisioned them at Carlisle. Agent Miles did not take him into partnership, or even into his house. He was forced to live in the miserable camps. His prayers to the Christian God had not wrought a transformation on his people. Unlike Matches and Etahdleuh, he was unable to identify himself with the missionaries at the Agency. His tinshop was only a mirage that retreated as he approached it. But he had made one convert to the good way of the white man. He wrote in 1881 to Pratt: "I am going to tell you what I was doing last Saturday. I got marry a very sure nice girl. She is very gentle and polite and kindly, but I am very sorry she do not talk English, and do not understand about the white man's ways. But I am trying to teach her about the white road."[40]

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[39] Roman Nose to Pratt, Jan. 5, 1883, in *Morning Star,* Carlisle Vol. 3, No. 6, Jan. 1883, p. 4. and Editorial comment in *ibid.*

[40] *Eadle Keatah Toh,* Carlisle Vol. 2, No. 5, Dec. 1881, p. 3.

This Cheyenne paragon, Red Paint Woman, was married to Roman Nose in infancy. As a husband, he tried his hand as an Army Scout at neighboring Fort Reno for upward of three months.[41] When he contracted a fever he had to resign, and a year after his marriage he was thoroughly discouraged. Yet there is a hint that he had glimpsed a realistic way to help his people—by dealing with Washington:[42]

> I went to ask Agent Miles for I start to working my tin trade .... Agent said wait and so I keeping rest in the Indian camps. I have nothing to do no work .... Capt. Pratt I am very anxious to know about. All Cheyenne Chiefs and Arapaho Chiefs talking about this land Indians belong to. I want to hear from you and tell me everything at Washington what the fixed road for the Indians. I shall never forget you and I wish to see you but I have no money to pay my way to come to Carlisle. Capt. Pratt please excuse this bad writing my letter. I have almost forget how to write English language because I have not read and write long time .... Henry C. Romannose.

Pratt published this letter in the January issue of the Carlisle paper, and seconded it with a comment of his own. In a month a Philadelphian had offered money to enable Roman Nose to open his shop, but on hearing of it Miles again demurred, saying that the Indian needed, and wanted, to go to Carlisle and "brush up." By April a Sunday school at Edgewater, Staten Island, had furnished Roman Nose with fare, and he took the long journey to Carlisle alone, arriving May 7, 1883. The Carlisle paper reported, "Henry has taken hold of work in our shops with a will, and seems to have lost none of his skill to make pans, pails, cups, etc.[43]

He left Carlisle September 18, 1883, but disappointment was still his lot. In April Agent Miles quitted the agency under a cloud. His successor, D. B. Dyer, plunged the Cheyennes into turmoil. From July 12 to September 16, 1884, Roman Nose was one of the agency police recruited at $5.00 a month to preserve order. He resigned "to take another position," but on September 15 a Carlisle returnee named White Buffalo was reported as agency tinner. To quiet the agency the United States Army intervened in 1885, and Roman Nose once more

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[41] Allotment file, Cheyenne—Arapahoe Area Field Office, Concho, Okla.; Mason D. Pratt to his mother and sisters, July 10, 1882, Pratt Papers; *Morning Star*, Carlisle Vol. 3, No. 6, Jan. 1883, p. 4.

[42] *Ibid*

[43] *Ibid.;* Miles to Pratt, March 13, 1883, Cheyenne and Arapahoe Letterbook 6, p. 190, C&A; *Morning Star*, vol. 3, No. 10, May 1883, p. 4; Field Office Records Carlisle Indian School, NA.

served with the Scouts, January 28—July 27, 1886.[44] That year his loyal friend Captain Pratt gave the last favorable report on him found for the period of this paper: "R. N. holds on to the civilized way the best he can. He has been unfortunate—has lost his wife and child, and has been sick for some months himself but is now well, and respected at Cheyenne Agency."[45]

About this time, Henry Roman Nose was married by Indian custom to Standing, a Cheyenne one year his senior. She had been separated, also by Indian custom, from her first husband Walking High, by whom she had two children, Little Woman (born in 1877) and Bob-tail (born in 1883). The children of Standing and Roman Nose were White Head (Amanda Roman Nose) born in 1887, and Head Bear (John Roman Nose), born in 1891.

Roman Nose returned to the agency police for periods beginning March 11 and July 1, 1887, and September 1, 1888. On October 15 he was discharged for neglect by Agent G. D. Williams. By June, 1890 his daydreams of ten years ago were partially fulfilled. He lived in a canvas tent instead of a house but he dressed like a white man, and at last, he was making tinware for his people at a wage of $20.00 a month. For Roman Nose, the opportunity to work at his trade came too late. The decade of frustration and restlessness had changed the direction of his life. The Southern Cheyennes took up the "Ghost Dance" with fervor that summer. Thereafter the only hat that Roman Nose wore was the "Messiah hat" of gray felt, with its round, stiff brim and square crown. This trade-mark symbolized a religion with a doctrine approaching his own mystic promulgated at Carlisle of the coming of a "Pan-Indian Utopia."[46] Emboldened by the promise of revolution, he defied Agent C. F. Ashley. Forgetting his early speeches to the chiefs and the Carlisle pupils advocating learning, Roman Nose refused to place his children in school even when rations were

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[44] *Ibid.;* Record of Indian Police, (1884—86), p. 2, NA, Statistics Division; Cheyenne Transporter, Sept. 15, 1884, [p. 232]; Register of Enlistments, U. S. Army, 1878-1886, National Archives, War Department, Record Group 94, Adjutant General's Office.

[45] Record of Returned Indians, Hampton N. and A. Institute, [1887?], Ms, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.

[46] Allotment file, Cheyenne-Arapaho Area Field Office, Concho, Okla., no. 2071; Schedule of Allotments, C&A, Allotments, Henry Roman Nose; Record of Indian Police, 1886—88, pp. 2, 75; 1888—90 p. 3, NA, Statistics DDivision; *Red Man,* Carlisle, Vol. 10, No. 5, June 1890; *Jesse Rowlodge,* oral communication, October 7, 1960.

withheld to enforce compliance. When, after several months as a tinner, he was reproved by the agent for laziness and neglect of his work, in anger he quit his job and the agency, taking up residence near Salt Creek some thirty miles northwest. Here, that winter, he came into conflict with a beef contractor over the grazing of cattle. In the spring, he utilized his writing proficiency by airing his grievances directly to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs instead of going through prescribed channels. He complained about these matters and the agent's discrimination against him in the issuing of agricultural implements (which he had abandoned when he moved) and in the manner of enrolling his stepchildren for allotments.[47]

When, on June 30, 1891, Henry Roman Nose, aged 35, received his allotment, he had chosen a picturesque quarter-section in the area where he had been living, with red rock walls rising from the wooded canyon-floor, with outcroppings of gleaming white gypsum, with rolling plains and spring.[48] Here, with occasional exceptions such as his terms as agency police beginning February 1 and September 1, 1894, he lived out his life. Nearby, at the allotment of another of the Florida boys, William Cohoe, he died during a peyote meeting on June 13, 1917.[49]

In the decade following allotments, Roman Nose achieved two more of his early goals. The Native American Church, the third religion he espoused after his native Sun Dance, brought him into a praying fellowship that stressed brotherhood and peace. Lastly, he was recognized as a leader of his people: He became a chief. Around the neck of Roman Nose, Chief Big Jake hung the chief's medal bestowed years before by Washington. In return Roman Nose gave Big Jake a spotted horse indicating appreciation of the honor done him.[50] Although the term of office was intended to be ten years, Roman Nose kept the title of Chief until his death. In January

[47] Agent Ashley to Commissioner, May 29, 1891, typed transcript of Cheyenne and Arapahoe Letterbook, vol. 33, pp. 11, 12, C&A.

[48] Allotment No. 2071 of Henry Roman Nose is described as NW/4, Section 24, Township 17 North, Range 12 West (Photostatic Copy of Original Schedule of Allotments to the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes, Cheyenne-Arapaho Area Field Office, Concho, Okla.). The present Roman Nose State Park, north of Watonga in northern Blaine County, includes a portion that is the south half of the allotment of Henry Roman Nose. See *Appendix B* at end of article by Ellsworth Collings, this number of *The Chronicles*.

[49] Record of Indian Police, 1892—94, 1894—96, NA, Statistics Division; Watonga, Oklahoma, Herald, June 14, 1917, p. 1; John Fletcher, oral communication, Oct. 6, 1960.

[50] Paul Goose, communication, in interview, Oct. 15, 1960.

1898, Agent A. E. Woodson, in instructing that the daughter of Henry Roman Nose be brought to school under police escort if necessary, said, "The example he is setting his people is bad; especially so since he claims to be a chief. It is expected that he will do everything in his power to promote the interests of his people."[51]

Although, to Roman Nose, schooling did not fall into the category of the best interests of his people, negotiating with Washington emphatically did. Once more he eschewed channels and, on January 12, 1898, wrote to the President requesting permission to visit Washington with a delegation of Cheyennes to confer on official matters.[52] The letter touched off a year-long controversy between the Indians and Agent Woodson, who wanted only "progressive" delegates to be elected. Two ex-prisoners of war, Roman Nose and William Cohoe, were among the ten Cheyennes chosen.[53]

While his charges were away in Washington, the Agent became fearful that they would assault his character and effectiveness as an agent. In his own defense he sent a letter to the Indian Commissioner that read in part:[54]

> They oppose methods that tend to localize them in permanent homes, compel the education of their children, break up nomadic habits, and forbid indulgence in harmful practices .... The educated Indians, who ought to appreciate the advantages to be gained by observing the rules and regulations adopted for the betterment of their people are so dominated by the older, ignorant, and superstitutious Indians that they themselves unite in denouncing the Agent who enforces them. Some of these young men are guilty of gross violations of these rules and indulge in forbidden practices, such as ghost-dancing, eating mescal beans [peyote], marrying according to Indian custom, bigamy, adultry, drunkenness and gambling; and some of these who have been employed by the Government and given good positions with salaries even better than white employes receive for the same labor, and who by their misconduct have incurred discharge from such employment, are among the first to denounce the Agent. Several of these young men accompanied the delegations to Washington. They are Cleaver Warden, Philip Cook, Grant Left Hand, Leonard Tyler [all Arapahos], and Henry Roman Nose. (The last named led the opposition among the non-progressive Indians for several years, and encouraged them to refuse the issue of beef from the block).

Henry Roman Nose, according to the Agent's report, had thrown away the white man's good way.

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[51] Agent to Agency Farmer, Jan. 25, 1898, Cheyenne and Arapahoe Letterbook, Vol. 74, p. 138, *C&A*.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

[53] Agent Woodson, Authorized delegates to Washington selected by Council of Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians, Jan. 13, 1899, Cheyenne and Arapahoe Letterbook Vol. 78, p. 165, *C&A*.

[54] Woodson to Commissioner, Feb. 9, 1899, Cheyenne and Arapahoe Letterbook, Vol. 78, pp. 341—4, C&A.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

1964 Winner in Public School Essay Contests: The Ida F. Hassley Award on the Subject "The Culture of Oklahoma City"

The annual contest sponsored by the Oklahoma City Public Schools through its Director of Secondary Education for the best essay written by a twelfth grade pupil in the Oklahoma City public schools, on the subject "The Culture of Oklahoma City" has today become an event in the history of the Capital City, an event indicative of the increasing interest in local history and culture all over the state of Oklahoma. The question "What is culture of a place or a society?" should bring a reply that has a part in interpreting the history of a region.

"The Ida F. Hasley Award" from a special estate fund, for $1,000 in cash annually has been given the twelfth grade pupil in Oklahoma City public schools whose essay on this City's culture has been judged the best among many papers on the subject entered each spring for the past five years. The winning essay in 1964 was classed by the judges as one of the best, if not the "top" essay, among the winning papers in the five-year period. The cash prize of $1,000 in 1964 was awarded Howard Caldwell Davis of Oklahoma City, eighteen year-old senior of John Marshall High School for his essay. [1]

The Culture of Oklahoma City

Oklahoma City is not just a place—it is a complex and many sided way of life which encompasses the cultural pursuits of thousands. Drama, modern art, recreation, higher education, and symphonic music are all significant fragments of the huge mosaic which is our society. The essential meaning of this mosaic is found not in its unity of purpose but in its fantastic variety. Our city flourishes as a cultural oasis in the barren Southwest, not because it encourages one or two aesthetic endeavors, but because it supports a multitude.

Let us examine, for a moment, several of those areas in which excellence of quality and enthusiastic public support have combined to establish and enhance Oklahoma City's reputation as a citadel of culture.

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[1] Howard Caldwell Davis is the son of Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Davis, 1231 Wishire, Oklahoma City. The winner of the award agreed to apply the $1,000 toward his education beyond high school. The essay was written in the school subject of "Great Books," with Miss Katherine Gibson, teacher in John Marshall High School.—Ed.

The first field in which our achievement is distinctive is the mass media. WKY Radio and WKY-TV were among the first stations in the Southwest to begin regular broadcasting. Both have received many well-deserved awards for news presentation and public service. Each of the three national television networks boasts an affiliate in Oklahoma City. Eleven radio stations bring music daily into the homes and cars of our citizens. The Oklahoma Publishing Company has since 1903 kept Oklahomans throughout the state informed morning and night on current events, amusements, and fashions.

The second, and perhaps broadest, cultural category is recreation. There are shaded parks and sunny playgrounds; amusement parks in the summer and the deliriously exciting State Fair in the fall; country clubs, golf clubs, private clubs, and night clubs; boats and lakes for the sporting, swimming pools for the sun-loving; one of the nation's most fascinating and exotic collections of animals in captivity, the Lincoln Park Zoo; a score of deluxe restaurants to delight the heart and stomach of any gourmet; athletic fields for the players and stadiums for the spectators.

Civic organizations and activities are the third major aspect of Oklahoma City's cultural life. Many community service organizations (such as Rotary International and Kiwanis) find wide support here. The Junior Chamber of Commerce is constantly seeking ways to improve practices and enlarge potentialities in business. Women, too, are actively participating in charitable organizations. Sorosis and the Women's Society for Christian Service are shining examples of the civic spirit. Men and women devoted to other non-profit organizations including the Young Men's Christian Association and the Girl Scout program are engaged in the noble and selfless task of guiding our youth into manhood and womanhood along the path of patriotism and love of fellow man. Churches of over fifty denominations fulfill the spiritual needs of our community.

Education, the fourth, significant area of our culture, is the most important. Upon its success or failure to broaden the spiritual horizons of our community depends the future of all the arts and sciences in Oklahoma City. Its task is momentous in this decade. It must reach those who without it could not earn an adequate living, and it must inspire them to take their eyes from the ground to see and appreciate the beautiful in music or painting and the profound in literature.

Thus far its efforts have been truly impressive. A vast system of private and public, elementary and secondary schools makes possible the basic education of every child in the city. This system is supplemented by scores of other institutions of vocational training. There are night schools, business colleges, trade schools, and television courses on KETA-TV. The six branches of the Oklahoma City Public Libraries System bring edifying and instructive literature within the reach of everyone. The Library's Community Workshop promotes adult education in the numerous classes it sponsors in such widely divergent subjects as the Great Books and political science. The crowning achievement, however, in our educational system is Oklahoma City University. This rapidly expanding, dynamic institution has gained a magnificent academic reputation through the tireless efforts of its administrators and professors. And now, with the assistance of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the Great Plan, its prospects for emerging as one of the nation's foremost schools of higher learning grow even brighter.

The fifth area, the performance and appreciation of the fine arts, Oklahoma City has long been recognized as a consistent patron of art, drama, and music. The Arts and Sciences Foundation is weekly visited by hundreds who come to admire the work of distinguished artists. Many Broadway shows, including *Camelot* and *My Fair Lady*, are performed on the stage of the Municipal Auditorium, and Oklahoma City audiences invariably flock to see them. The Mummers Theater, often acclaimed for its brilliant productions of the unsurpassed caliber of *The Caine Mutiny* and *Hamlet*, has recently received grants from the Ford Foundation which now make possible its further expansion. Productions by high-school thespians, the Jewel Box Theater, and the O. C. U. players supplement and further enrich Oklahoma City's dramatic fare.

Of all the fine arts, music in all of its many forms has claimed the greatest popularity. Every Sunday morning more than 250 churches reverberate with the sound of choir and organ. Every Saturday night poignant and whimsical folk-songs are performed at the Buddhi. Choral groups, barber-shop quartets, and ballet troupes have all been enthusiastically received. Finally, here resides one of the world's great symphonic orchestras, the Oklahoma City Symphony, under the direction of Guy Fraser Harrison.

These five areas constitute the structure of Oklahoma City culture, but not its essence. Its essence is to be found, not in works of art, but in the attitudes of our citizens. Our city presently thrives amidst the blossoming of a myriad of artistic endeavors. Yet it can only maintain its eminence if the present generation continues to support these endeavors by attendance, applause, and encouragement, and if the next generation of Oklahomans is given the superlative education which alone makes possible the creation and appreciation of culture.

The Oklahoma Historical Society, Host for The American Association of State and Local History

The outstanding activity of the Oklahoma Historical Society in the autumn of 1964—October 29 to 31—was that of host together with the University of Oklahoma for the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Association for State and Local History. Headquarters were at the Sheraton-Oklahoma Hotel, Oklahoma City, delegates attending this national meeting from all parts of North America. Staff members of the Oklahoma Historical Society received high praise for their cordial and efficient assistance to the visiting members of the American Association. The session devoted to the subject of "State Historic Sites" was of particular interest in the Oklahoma Society's statewide program of marking and maintenance of historic sites in the state, begun in 1949. Chairman of this session was Mr. K. H. Creveling, Director, Division of Development, Department of Conservation and Economic Development, State of New Jersey, Trenton. The panel discussion was opened by Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, who gave the following paper:

State Historic Sites: Who Can Best Operate and Control Them

The discussion title for this panel, through its phraseology, might be considered to have eliminated any discussion; that is, of course, if we assume state historic sites should be operated and controlled by the state. It is to be asserted, however, that the intent of this discussion is to delineate reasons why any particular historic site should be controlled by a specific division of state government, or by a specific private organization.

It may sound trite and hackneyed, but it must be repeated that whichever state or organization can best do the job should do it. In other words, sites of national interest should be controlled by the national government, those of state significance by state government, and those of local interest by local governments. By the same token, it could be said that national societies and organizations should control certain sites of national significance, state groups of state significance, and local groups of local significance.

Throughout the Midwest, it is a rather common practice to place the care of historic sites in the hands of state historical societies. This seems to be a logical approach. Here in Oklahoma we have two agencies of state government that are caring for historic sites. Several of the most important historical structures and locations in Oklahoma are under the control of the Planning and Resources Board, while others are under the control and management of the Oklahoma Historical Society. This is a bad and difficult situation, because authority is divided and each division of sites is financed from appropriations secured by two different divisions of government. This leads to unequal financing and uneven administration. Through agreement of the State Planning and Resources Board and the Oklahoma Historical Society, the next Legislature is being requested to alleviate this situation by placing the control of all historic sites, owned by the state, under the direction and management of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The foregoing illustration is used, because it is germane to the problem of who should control state historic sites. The determining factors in this instance have been that the Planning and Resources Board is primarily interested in parks, while the Historical Society, as its name implies, concentrates on historical matters. In the resolution requesting the aforementioned change, to consolidate all management of historic sites in the hands of the Historical Society, it was pointed out that the Planning and Resources

Board staff members were not trained in history and related topics, while those of the Historical Society did have the requisite training for determining what sites should be preserved and how to preserve and explain them.

It is our belief that municipalities and local groups should maintain and operate city and municiple historic edifices and sites. Such sites, of course, would be those having mainly local signficance. For example, the home of an early mayor, whose reputation and name are familiar primarily in the local community, should be placed in the province of municipal control. Being from the Midwest and Southwest, our environment has probably made us prone to favor state controlled museums and historic sites over private control. The chief advantage is that once a site becomes the property of a state, it is most difficult for such property to be traded or sold. Furthermore, such sites are preserved because of state-wide sentiment, rather than some group urge or notion. Frequently nongovernmental organizations disband or become financially impotent.

Certainly no historic site should be maintained without proper inscriptions and word explanations. The more important ones should have a paid, trained staff in charge. When the state has control of a site, the historical society of that state, based upon the work of its researchers, can best create an accurate restoration, or preservation. There is far less pressure to bear in a state controlled historic site plan, than in one by an organization. Most states protect their historical societies by having them isolated from any form of political or social pressure. Organization controlled sites are all too frequently subject to the whims of some financing individual or firm, with the result that truth and accuracy may be sacrificed to please the donor.

Too much cannot be said of having trained personnel in charge of historic sites. It was our experience not too long ago to visit one of the outstanding historic restorations in the United States. The restorers had done an excellent job, but then it had been left to local club women to supervise and explain. These good little ladies, dressed in period costumes, with much self-importance, strutted and preened about the site, giving forth with well-memorized tidbits of information about this and that. But ask one of them a question about some item not on their memorized agenda, and the poor little dear floated off into space. Imagine a well-trained curator slapping the hand of some woman visitor who touched a drapery. It was done by a costumed old darling at the aforementioned place. Yes, the work of historic sites should be carried on by trained personnel, and

in most states that trained personnel is to be found on the staff of state historical societies.

Wealth in the hands of intelligent individuals and organizations has brought about, through private means, some of the finest restorations and preservations in the nation. Williamsburg is an out-standing example of this sort of development. When the wealthy donors are satisfied to furnish the funds and completely divorce themselves from management and technical decisions, great success has been attained. Any community is indeed fortunate to be the recipient of this type of historic site development and preservation.

If a historic site is important enough to be preserved, it is important enough to be cared for by professionals.

Administrative Secretary
—Elmer L. Fraker,

Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Song in Sunlight Glees, "My Indian Territory Home"

An unusual bit of early state history is reflected in the song, "My Indian Territory Home" dedicated to "Hon. Green McCurtain, Chief of the Choctaw Nation," found in the small book, *Sunlight Glees* published by The Eureka Publishing Company of Stigler, Oklahoma, the copyright date given in 1904. The book was for use in "singing schools" that were held in rural communities, such "schools" a part of the history of music and social gatherings of the people (blended Indian and white) for many years in Eastern Oklahoma. A copy of *Sunlight Glees* was brought in to the Indian Archives to show the song dedicated to Chief Green McCurtain, the owner of the book, Mrs. George Moore giving permission to have transcript copy of the song made for *The Chronicles.*

Old friends of Green McCurtain years ago told the Editor of his reciting Choctaw poetry and also, folklore in poetic form in Choctaw. It is known that the Choctaws in very early tribal days before they came west to make their homes were the poets and singers of the Southeastern Indian tribes. Something of Green McCurtain's personality and native grace and talent is glimpsed with the discovery of this song of sixty years ago, "My Indian Territory Home" dedicated to him. It turns our thoughts to a period

of Choctaw history that has had little notice. Choctaw leaders, generally, who were active in the 1880's, the 1890's and the years just before statehood have had little mention in history by the dominant forces that would take over the Indian Territory.

Many Choctaw leaders were persons of character that held their own against the intruding onslaught. Some Choctaw family names are known in the life and on the maps of the State of Oklahoma today, including the name of McCurtain that of the state's southeastern county bordered by Red River.

The name of the Choctaw McCurtain family (also found intermarried among some of the Chickasaw) is seen listed as "McCartain" in the British records in London, dating from the early 1750's. "McCurtain" was a white trader from Britain who came, settled and married among the Choctaws in Mississippi before the American Revolution. His descendant, probably his grandson Choctaw by blood, was Cornelius McCurtain who served as Chief of Mosholatubbee District, Choctaw Nation West, in 1850. He has the distinguished record of three sons — Jackson, Edmond and Green—, each of whom was elected and served as principal chief of the Nation at different times after the Civil War. Green McCurtain was born near Skullyville in 1848. Beginning at the age of eighteen, he was elected and served in many positions of trust in the Choctaw Nation, including four terms as "Principal Chief." He was the last elected Principal Chief under the laws of the Choctaw Nation (1904), and continued in this office by U. S. Government appointment after Oklahoma statehood, in the interest of unfinished Choctaw business affairs until his death on December 27, 1910, at his home in Kinta, Oklahoma. He was three-fourth Choctaw by blood, and was held in high regard by those who knew him—a man of fine physique, personal magnetism, intellectual endowment, ready wit and a great orator in the Choctaw language.

—(M. H. W.)

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Title Page of *Sunlight Glees* which has Song No. 76, "My Indian Territory Home."

BOOK REVIEWS

Ballads And Folk Songs Of The Southwest, By Ethel Moore and Chauncey O. Moore (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. 1964. Pp. 414. Illustrations, Musical Scores. Appendix. Bibliography. Index of Titles, Index of First Lines and General Index. $12:50.)

This book is a fascinating study of the early settlers of the Southwest as expressed in song. These men and women were from many lands with varied backgrounds and when they moved into the raw frontier country they brought their traditional folk songs and ballads with them. Sea chanteys, Negro spirituals and work songs, English and Scotch ballads mingled with the folk songs of the lumberjack, the trapper, the Indian and the cowboy. They were the songs of people who lived close to the basic realities of life and spoke of the joy, fear, good and evil they knew. Over all hovered a keen awareness of death.

With the passing years the vital, freedom loving atmosphere of the new land touched and changed the songs as it changed the people. Here, where class stratification had no place, the "lord" and "lady" in the English and Scotch ballads changed to "young" and "fair". The names of the people and places in the new home replaced those of the old. Old melodies were adopted for new songs to tell of the changed life of the singer. We hear the tale of a Greer County homesteader sung to the lilting melody from Scotland.

Ballads with the lusty flavor of the time and place began to appear and they were a new type of music in themselves. They sang the praise of men of the southwest who performed great deeds of valor or strength. There was such a reaching out for individual freedom in this new land that a hero worship of men who "outlawed the law" ran strongly through this new music.

Today these songs of the people are fast slipping away. With the passing of this generation many of these ballads will be lost to us and a colorful and unique segment of Americana will be dropped into obscurity. The aim of this well organized book is to preserve this sidelight upon one phase of frontier life.

Ethel and Chauncey O. Moore spent twenty-five years collecting the material used, often going from door to door in their long search. From the 400 ballads and folk songs, 1,400 varients and 1,100 melodies collected, they selected 204 texts and 213 melodies. A brief paragraph describing

each song, its origin and the indentity of the contributing singer precedes each song.

At this time Ethel Moore is librarian at Will Rogers High School in Tulsa. Chaucey Moore is active in several civic groups in Tulsa and is the organizer and former director of Oklahoma Folk Festivals.

Lawton, Oklahoma —Leola Lehman

Lincoln's Gadfly, Adam Gurowski. By LeRoy H. Fischer. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1964. Pp. xvii + 301. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. $6.95)

The Civil War has always seemed to be a peculiarly American event. True, there were numerous European observers such as Britisher Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Freemantle whose visit to the Confederacy resulted in the charming *Freemantle Diary.* Freemantle and the others were only observers however and exerted no influence on the campaigns, military and political, of the time. Even the Court of St. James and the French seem remote from "our war"; essentially it was a family fuss which the rest of the world allowed us to settle in our own way.

It is a little startling then to encounter the proposition that an eccentric, transplanted European—revolutionary, journalist, and propagandist—penetrated top government circles during the Civil War years. It is even more startling that this strange interloper became an unofficial arbiter of Radical Republican policy, contributing to the nation's wartime and reconstruction policies.

Count Adam Gurowski was born to revolution, the son of an aristocrat of dismembered Poland, and heir to all the discontent of his people under Russian oppression. He attended various European universities, but none of them for long, as his contentious spirit which thrived on controversy, soon rendered him *persona non grata* to the faculties. He obviously picked much erudition on the way enough so that when he came to the United State in 1849 "in search of reason, freedom, and true Democracy" he was invited by the eminent educator and orator (the other speaker at Gettysburg), Edward Everett, to lecture at Harvard on Roman Civil Law. The two year period spent by Gurowski at Cambridge was distinguished by his friendship with Henry Wodsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, and Charles Sumner, ardent abolitionists all. Sumner was soon to become U. S. Senator from Massachusetts and a leader in the forensic attacks on the

South. The Count's companions found him both irritating and stimulating, sometimes personally charming, but withal, a most difficult man.

From Cambridge the Count, always indigent or nearly so, found his fortunes in New York and Horace Greeley's New York Tribune where he served as a commentator on the European scene. He was drawn to Washington by the clouds of war and the grave national issues at stake. It was here that the rotund Pole, dressed in Old World style and always wearing blue goggles to conceal an old eye injury, became the confidant of Cabinet members. Here he labored "tirelessly to strengthen the Radicals (Republicans) dubbed by Hay (as) 'Jacobins' after a leftist faction of the French Revolution." Here too it was that his bitter denounciations of friend and foe alike, his gratuitious but often well considered letters to public officials telling them what they ought to do, the publication of his sensational diary, and his pistol-packing, led Lincoln to recognize him as a possible assassin.

It is difficult to cite a more obnoxious or untrustworthy character than this Gurowski who sometimes collected political gossip by interrupting conferences and by sitting at men's desks and rummaging through their files. Dr. Fischer's scholarly research of a hitherto little explored area, introduces him as a unique and incongruous public figure of a period about which much has already been written. The author, a professor of history at Oklahoma State University, has plowed new ground in this effort for which his manuscript deservedly received the 1963 Literary Award of $5,000 of the War Library and Museum and Pennsylvania Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. My only wish is that he had been less dispassionate in his approach and more fervant in arguing his case that Adam Gurowski was Lincoln's gadfly.

Midwest City, Oklahoma —Austin Mills

The Southern Cheyennes. By Donald J. Berthrong. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1963. Pp. 446. $5.95.)

For almost fifty years George Bird Grinnell's great work *The Fighting Cheyennes* has stood unrevised and virtually unchallenged as the definitive account of the struggles of the Cheyenne Indians to preserve their way of life.

Grinnell, unlike contemporary scholars, had access to Cheyennes who participated in and remembered events well

before the mid-nineteenth century. Grinnell, impressed by the composite knowledge of his Cheyenne informants and friends, used historical records sparingly and preferred Indian tradition to white sources. This led him to present warped and biased versions of some incidents and clashes between the Cheyennes and frontiersmen and troops.

Mr. Berthrong has utilized historical records not available to Grinnell and unknown to the Cheyennes, whose memories were not infallible. By use of both Cheyenne traditions and these same historical records, he has produced a volume of greater objectivity than anything previously written.

This book is not a complete history of the Cheyennes, but is limited both chronologically and topically to the period before 1875 and to those Cheyennes who occupied the Central and Southern Plains. From 1861 through 1875, they fought to maintain their free, nomadic existence... There were tragic, bloody wars and a few years of intermittent peace and retaliation. Finally, after an intense winter campaign of 1874-75, the fierce Southern Cheyennes were brought to bay by the U. S. Army and herded on a reservation in western Indian Territory.

Mr. Berthrong does not tax the reader with long footnotes that often distracts from what the author is trying to tell us. The pace moves along at a steady trot, much in keeping with the subject. This is a book, well researched and splendid reading, that will rank with Grinnell's earlier work.

Hominy, Oklahoma —Arthur Shoemaker

A Woman's Viewpoint. The Best Columns of Mrs. Walter Ferguson (Lucia Loomis) Pioneer and Writer for American Newspapers for Over Fifty Years. Compiled 1964 by Benton Ferguson. (The Cherokee Press, Tulsa, Oklahoma. $4.90.)

"Articles . . . wise and witty . . . sentimental and cynical . . . on timely and timeless topics . . . from Woman Suffrage to the Space Age . . ." If Lucia Ferguson could read these words written by her son for the back cover of this book, she would smile, for she never aimed to be wise or witty, sentimental or cynical. She wrote what she thought and perhaps what she felt her readers should be told.

At the bottom of this cover there is a statement which would please her—"Proceeds of sales will be contributed to the Mrs. Walter Ferguson Memorial Scholarship, Univer-

sity of Oklahoma." For she esteemed education and was always loyal to her own school.

The preface, by her son Benton, says that the "best articles" written by her were picked from more than 10,000, which was a very difficult task, but her faithful readers over the years would agree that the choices made succeed in recording "her universal tastes, her tolerance, her sense of humor, her understanding heart, and, above all, her common sense." It is a matter of common sense to cherish those virtues which have built our American society and at the end of her autobiography which opens the book, she says. "I feel sometimes that we have lost something precious that was once ours,—the belief that thrift and industry are virtues, that a person should stand on his own feet, that a man's word should be as good as his bond, and that it is better to give love than to receive it." This could be labeled as "conservative" point of view, but as one reads through the columns selected for this book, the realization grows that this is good old-fashioned conservatism, seasoned with common sense and flavored with salty, down-to-earth language that anyone could understand and take to heart. Not that every reader would agree with her,—some even might become angry at her viewpoint, but there are many words that needed saying and too few these days to say them.

Her never ceasing interest in people led her to uphold the pleasure of gossip,—"the real spice of life is to be found in discussing the neighbors." But gossip with her was never malicious or petty; she had too much sympathy for people's problems,—the problems of widows, of negro maids, of the children of divided homes. She was sensitive to beauty,—"the redbud tree speaks to me of something more wonderful than spring; it brings a new feeling of faith and hope." She was a strong advocate of the united family as a saving element of our society. The enduring value of friendship did not escape her typing fingers.

This is a book which can constantly be reviewed; one to keep at hand and re-read; one to pass on to close friends, for there is a quality about it that is encouraging in these days of doubt, something stable and honest. Here was a woman who spoke her mind without fear or favor; would there others like her.

—Hope Holway

Tulsa, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

MRS. VIRGIL BROWNE
1881—1963

Maimee Lee Robinson Browne was a dynamic person and her record of accomplishments reads like fiction. She was a leader in the field of education and public welfare in three states in which she lived—Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma—establishing many wonderful and practical projects. It is difficult to imagine how one person could have brought to fruition so much for the good of humanity, especially the home and the child. Her energies were endless, and her boundless enthusiasm awakened the interest of others to assist in her love of helping and doing for others. Service was truly her life and though her dreams were often hard tasks they were overcome by her deep faith in God.

Maimee Lee Robinson was born in Pittsburg, Texas on March 3, 1881, daughter of John Edwin and Margaret Rebecca (nee Murrell) Robinson, on April 3, 1901. She married Virgil Browne of Mont Plesant, Texas. Their six children are Margaret Elizabeth (Mrs. Killis C. Reese), Tulsa; Virgil Browne, Jr., Wichita, Kansas; Kelsey Lee (Mrs. James P. Evans, Jr.) Jackson, Miss.; Henry William Browne, Alice Browne Alspaugh; and John Robinson Browne, Oklahoma City.

After her marriage, her first interests were her home, her church (Presbyterian) and Sunday School class; the Inter-denominational Bible Class. where books of the Bible were dramatized; the Bible-Browning Class; and the Ladies Music Club, until her growing family of six children attracted her attention to the value of the National Congress of Parent-Teacher Associations in Public Schools. Her outstanding activity at this time was to initiate a program on "Thrift" which grew so in popularity that she was invited to plan an hour program on "Thrift" for the County Teachers Association. Following this the District President of Texas P.T.A., invited her to appear on the District Program where she made her first public address in Gainsville, Texas. Next she was appointed State Chairman of a Special Committee on Thrift at the State P.T.A. Convention in Houston, Texas. She presided over the first "High School Mothers Section" (now known as "Teen Age Problems"). The State Thrift Program developed into establishment of school savings banks in the public schools, and planned ways for children to earn money to start savings accounts, even to the wholesale sales of magazines and papers, requiring the children to put half of their earnings into their own accounts. This was the first public school savings in the South (1914).

The Browne's moved to New Orleans in 1916 where Mrs. Browne established school savings in the public schools with the cooperation of the Chamber of Commerce and ten banks that opened accounts for the school students. When Secretary McAdoo held a conference to establish Federal Land Banks, Mrs. Browne was invited to the hearing. Because of her interests in schools and savings, she was appointed a member of the Council of National Defense, and represented Louisiana at three National Defense meetings. When World War I ended, Mrs. Browne interested a leading life insurance company in Louisiana to write the first "College Education Life Insurance Policy," a safe investment for school savers providing paid in advance for college education, a policy that parents or guardians could pay out during the child's attendance in the State's public school thus assuring a college education after high school graduation.

MRS. VIRGIL BROWNE

As State Chairman of the Americanization Committee for the Louisiana State Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Browne had the privilege of planning and presiding over a "Citizensip Ceremonial" in the U. S. Court Room in New Orleans in February, 1922, with three Federal Judges on the bench. The Naturalization Examiner presented 150 new American citizens their citizenship papers. All patriotic societies of the City were represented and participated, even the high school senior classes in Government and History had a place on the program. This was the first ceremony of the kind ever held in a U. S. Federal Court Room. Now, after forty years, such ceremonies are held in practically every Court where new citizens receive their naturalization papers, and are welcomed by State officials and representatives of home, church and school.

Mrs. Browne organized the Louisiana Congress of Parents and Teachers, and had the honor of being one of the National founders. Mr. and Mrs. Browne moved their family to Oklahoma City in 1923 where she helped in the organization of the State Congress of P. T. A., serving as First Vice President. She established Parent Education Classes in the Oklahoma City public schools. She was an active member of a number of civic and religious organization boards. She served as General Chairman of the Oklahoma City Beautification Committee for the Chamber of Commerce, and in 1938 through her efforts the Red Bud was made the State Tree of Oklahoma, by action of the State Legislature.

Mrs. Browne was deeply interested and served as an active member or officer in many national patriotic organizations, including the Society of Mayflower Descendants, Daughters of Colonial Wars, First Families of Virginia. Daughters of American Colonists, Magna Carta Dames, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Ancient Artillery, and Robinson, Tupper and Nye genealogical societies. She became a member of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1925, and from that time served successively as a committee chairman or officer including State Regent and National Vice President General. While she was State Librarian of D. A. R. in 1946, her leadership initiated the D. A. R. Memorial Library bookcases which were built on the west wall of the Library Reading Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The plan for financing this project and the final erection of these beautiful mahogany, floor-to-ceiling bookcases proved such a success that a surplus of $1,600 was realized and used to purchase additional books. This fine collection of books on genealogy with volumes added every year by the State D. A. R. and its local chapters in Oklahoma makes this one of the best genealogical libraries west of the Mississippi River. Mrs. Browne was a promoter in organizing the Children of the American Revolution in the National D. A. R.

It was when she was President of the Oklahoma City Federation of Women's Clubs in 1930-1932 (she served again in 1954-56) that Mrs. Virgil Browne will be remembered for her "Week for Education on Colonial America" when she borrowed a colonial type home and planned daily programs for her D. A. R. Chapter in Oklahoma City. The colonial house was filled for a week with the "Handicraft of Women's Work & Quilt Festival."

Mrs. Browne was the recipient of many honors. She was an honoree inducted by the "Oklahoma Hall of Fame" in 1938, this annual ceremonial sponsored by the Oklahoma Memorial Association in Oklahoma City. She was named "Oklahoma Mother of the Year" in 1951, afterward serving on the Board of this national organization.

Members of Oklahoma State Writers to which she belonged will always remember the annual meetings of the group and their friends when special music and the reading of poetry and special talks on writing made up the program, given in Mrs. Virgil Brown's lovely home on North May Avenue and Memorial Road, Cedar Lakes (now Quail Creek). After her death on June 11, 1963, her family published a charming book to her memory: *Red Bud in Poetry*, verse by many writers as well as her own on the red bud, collected by Maimee Lee Robinson Browne.

Vision and the determination and will to carry her dreams to completion marked the personality of Mrs. Virgil Browne. She saw her opportunities, and since enthusiasm engenders enthusiasm in others, many people around her caught the gleam and became active, too, so naturally her visions were realized. She had passed the age of eighty-two years and sixty-two, of marriage at the time of her death. Yet she was still working on projects to help others. A truly great and remarkable Lady was Maimee Lee Robinson Browne.

—Alice Browne Allspaugh

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

October 27, 1964

Called to order by President George H. Shirk, the Oklahoma Historical Society Board of Directors met in the Board Room of the Historical Building at 10:00 a. m., October 27, 1964.

Answering roll call were: Mr. Lou Allard, Mr. Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Mr. Q. B. Boydstun, Judge Orel Busby, Dr. B. B. Chapman, Judge J. G. Clift, Mr. Joe Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Mr. J. Lloyd Jones, Mr. Joe W. McBride, Mr. R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Mr. Fisher Muldrow, and Mr. George H. Shirk.

Absent from the meeting were: Judge Richard H. Cloyd, Mr. W. D. Finney, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mr. W. E. McIntosh, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, and Miss Genevieve Seger. Upon the approval of a motion by Mr. Allard and seconded by Mrs. Bowman, absent members were excused.

Books, and other gift items were listed by Mr. Fraker. It was moved by Judge Hefner and seconded by Mr. Allard that the gifts to the Society, made during the quarter, be accepted. The motion was adopted. It was also announced by the Administrative Secretary that two new Life Members and thirty-six new Annual Members had made application for membership in the Society. The motion to accept those who sought membership was made by Dr. Harbour with the second by Mr. Allard and approval by the Board.

According to Mr. Fraker, the sod house in Alfalfa County was at last thoroughly protected by the construction of a sheet metal building over and around the entire sod structure. He pointed out that the protecting structure will serve until such time as a display building is erected.

Important steps, said the Administrative Secretary, had been taken in starting a movement to transfer the operation and management of certain historic sites from the Planning and Resources Board to the operation and management of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He reported that the Planning and Resources Board had adopt a motion recommending that the following properties now controlled by the Planning and Resources Board be transferred to the control of the Oklahoma Historical Society: Murrell House, part of Fort Gibson, Pioneer Woman Museum, and Black Kettle Museum.

Mr. Fraker stated that inasmuch as the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society had previously adopted a moton requesting such transfer, he had prepared a resolution calling for the transfers and had submitted the same to the Legislative Council of the Oklahoma Legislature. He said that upon presentation of the resolution to the Council, said Council had unanimously approved it and recommended the Legislature pass legislation to implement the resolution. The Historic Sites department, he remarked, is likely to become, in the near future, the largest division of Oklahoma Historical Socity work.

In concluding his presentation to the Board, the Administrative Secretary expressed appreciation and thanks to Governor Henry

Bellmon for having brought about beautification of the Oklahoma Historical Society grounds.

President Shirk reminded the Board that all were invited to the party that was being given that night at Quail Creek Country Club by Mr. Henry Bass, Mr. Jordan Reaves, and himself. This party was for the purpose of entertaining the Council members of the American Association for State and Local History, who were in attendance at that body's annual convention then being held in Oklahoma City.

It was observed by Dr. Chapman that of the various land offices in Oklahoma at the time of the land openings, only one was still standing and this was the one that had been in Perry, but had later been moved six miles northeast of Stillwater to be used as a schoolhouse. He suggested that the Oklahoma Historical Society investigate the possibility of acquiring and restoring this buildng.

The Treasurer's report, as presented by Mrs. Bowman, indicated all accounts of the Society were in satisfactory condition. A motion was made by Mr. Allard and seconded by Judge Busby that the Treasurer's report be approved. The motion was adopted.

Dr. Morrison, in making the Fort Washita Commission report, said one hundred ninety people had signed the registration book on the preceding Saturday and Sunday. He said this indicated the tremendous interest the public had in Fort Washita. He reported that a brisk sale of brochures is being made at the site.

In reminding the Board of the dedication of the restoration of Fort Washita which is to take place on June 22, 1965, Dr. Morrison expressed the hope that the monument to the Colbert family would be in place at that time. Mr. Fraker said he would prepare the wording for the monument as soon as he had received the necessary information.

The Publications Committee reported by Mr. McBride showed that the Harlow Publishing Company of Oklahoma City had secured the contract for printing *The Chronicals* for the coming year. He called attention to the fact that Mr. Bass had run pictures of the Board of Directors in his last monthly news letter. He commended Mr. Bass for doing this.

In continuing his report, Mr. McBride requested that the Publications Committee be authorized to arrange for the printing of new brochures to be sold at the reception desk. A motion was made by Mr. Jones that the Publications Committee be authorized to carry into effect Mr. McBride's suggestion. The motion was seconded by Mr. Allard and passed by the Board.

As Chairman of the Oklahoma Civil War Centinnial Commision, Mr. Bass related briefly the current activities of that Commission. He stated that the end of the Civil War in Oklahoma would be commemorated at Doaksville on June 23, 1965. Mr. Bass said that it had been agreed that the Oklahoma Historical Society annual tour for 1965 would be so scheduled as to be at Doaksville for the ceremonies on the 23rd of June, —one hundred years after the surrender of General Stand Watie.

Mrs. Bowman presented the findings of the special committee that had been appointed to investigate the possibility of securing a wood sculpture from Mr. Willard Stone of Locust Grove. She said that the committee, composed of Mr. McBride, Mr. Jones, and herself, had met on August 20th in Tulsa with the sculptor. She suggested that Mr. Stone, who was present, be permitted to present his ideas of such pieces of wood sculpturing to the Board. Mr. Jones intro-

duced Mr. Stone, who in turn displayed drawings and carvings of what he was proposing to sculpt for the Society. A sketch indicated that he proposed to do a wood sculpture of Sequoyah teaching two Cherokee children the Cherokee alphabet. He said the price would be between $1,500 and $1,800 for this work.

Upon Mr. Stone's retirement from the room, Mrs. Bowman moved that the proposal of Mr. Stone be accepted; that is, that he do a work of wood sculpturing approximately forty inches by sixty inches entitled "Sequoyah the Teacher", and that a fee not to exceed $1,800 be set. Also included in the motion was the proviso that $500 be payable at time of commissioning. This motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and unanimously approved by the Board.

The possibility of the publication of a Chickasaw dictionary was presented by President Shirk who read a letter from Overton James, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, urging that such be done. It was moved by Mr. Allard and seconded by Mrs. Bowman that this proposal be referred to the Publication Committee and that such committee have authority to act for the Society as to the possibility of such publication, and the extent to which the Society should become involved.

President Shirk announced that Mr. Jordan Reaves had completed his restoration of the Napoleon cannon, which he said was more complete and in better condition than the one in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D. C. He added that as soon as the cannon had been used in the ceremonies at Doaksville, commemorating the end of the Civil War, in 1965, that it would become the property of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The possibility of the Oklahoma Historical Society encouraging Indians to produce handicraft for sale was suggested by Mr. Jones. He was joined in his views by Mr. Muldrow. He said such articles could be sold by the Oklahoma Historical Society and at other places. He observed that each item should bear a label saying that it was produced by Oklahoma Indians and was authentic Indian art. Mr. Allard moved that the Chair appoint a committee to work out the details of the proposal made by Mr. Jones. The motion was seconded by Mr. Muldrow and adopted by the Board.

The resignation of Dr. T. L. Ballenger, of Talequah, from the Historic Sites Committee was announced by President Shirk. He said Dr. Ballenger had submitted such resignation because of ill health. President Shirk said he was following the suggestion of Dr. Ballenger in appointing Mr. Q. B. Boydstun to take Dr. Ballenger's place on the Historic Sites Committee.

A report was made by Mr. Robert Wilkin, Chairman of the European Tour Committee. He said that proposals and bids were being received from various travel agencies relative to the tour. He announced there were about thirty Indian clubs in Germany and that these would be tremendously interested in working out a program for the tour. Mr. Wilkin recommeded that a committee be appointed to deal directly with the Indian clubs of Germany in working out the details of the four-day visit. He said it would be well for this committee to be made up of people of Indian descent. President Shirk said he would appoint such a committee as a subcommittee of the European tour group.

Attention was called by Mr. Muldrow to the illness of Judge Richard Cloyd. He suggested that a letter of sympathy be sent from the Society offices to Judge Cloyd. Mr. Fraker said this would be done and that also flowers would be sent to Judge Cloyd.

Upon Mr. McBride's statement that there are people in Oklahoma City who would be interested in buying the old Overholster house and giving it to the Oklahoma Historical Society, considerable discussion was entered into by the Board.

President Shirk expressed the thought that since the Oklahoma Historical Society is a state body, it might be better for some local group to promote the acquisition and restoration of the Overholster home. He voiced the opinion that if the Society were to start purchasing old homes of only city importance, it might find itself expected to purchase old homes in cities throughout the state. He added, however, that since the proposal being discussed would raise money locally, the Oklahoma Historical Society would act simply as a clearing house, should it become involved.

Mrs. Bowman told of her attendance at the dedication of the Bible collection of former Board member, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison. This had taken place in Dallas, Texas on October 13th and 14th, when the collection was donated to Southern Methodist University.

There being no further business, adjournment was held at 12:05 p.m., upon the motion of Dr. Dale and the second of Mr. Bass.

GEORGE H. SHIRK
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED IN THIRD QUARTER, 1964

LIBRARY

New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1937-1938.
Donor: Clark Hibbard, Ardmore

Advertisements of early Oklahoma City and Oklahoma Territory.
Donor: Doyle E. Lyon, Britton

3 Photographs of Major George H. Shirk
Donor: Mrs. Marion Howell

Postcard "Old Indian Agency Building Muskogee, 1922"
Donor: University of North Carolina Library,, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Frontier Ways—Edward Everett Dale. Also Arabic Edition and "Learn By Reading" Edition.
Donor: Edward Everett Dale, Norman.

The Moss Family—Paul Moss
Donor: Paul Moss, Odessa, Texas

The Birdsall Family—George A. Birdsall
Donor: George A. Birdsall, Annandale, Virginia

Our Kin—Ella Maude Brooks Dulaney
Donor: Mrs. L. F. Dulaney, Kingfisher

Legends and Lore of Southern Illinois—John W. Allen
Donor: Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Ill.

Life in Detroit Under Pontiac's Siege—Howard H. Peckham
Donor: Detroit Historical Society, Detroit, Michigan

This Hallowed Ground—Bruce Catton
Grant Moves South—Bruce Catton
A Stillness at Appomattox—Bruce Catton
The Making of the President, 1960—Theodore H. White
When The Cheering Stopped—Gene Smith
Donor: Mrs. Joe Dabney, Oklahoma City

The Illustrious Life of William McKinley, Our Martyred President—Murat Halstead
Donor: Mrs. Tholsen, Oklahoma City

Edmund Polk, Junior, His Ancestors and Descendants—Katharine Gentry Bushman
Donor: Mrs. H. G. Archerd, Oklahoma City

Pyramid Syndicate Certificate, 1917.
Donor: Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan

Microfilm: 1830 Census of Louisiana, St. Landry—Claiborne Parishes
Donor: Mrs. Benjamin Musick, Kingfisher

Land office certificate of Henry D. Johnson, Kiowa County, Oklahoma, May 24, 1907.
Donor: Mrs. Martha Johnson McBride, Portland, Oregon

Microfilm: 1830 Census of Louisiana, Lafourche-St. Charles Parishes.
Donor: William Reeves Chapter of Colonial Dames of the 17th Century. In Memory of Mrs. J. Litsey Smith, Ardmore.

Microfilm: 1830 Census of Kentucky, Christian-Fayette Counties
Donor: Mrs. R. E. Black, Oklahoma City

Ties That Bind, The Story of Oklahoma Presbyterian College—Anne Semple 56 copies of United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine 1 Confederate Veteran Magazine, Sept.-Oct. 1932
Donor: Mrs. R. W. Gimpel, Oklahoma City in behalf of Jefferson Davis Chapter #2255 of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Refugee Life in the Confederacy—Mary Elizabeth Massey
Donor: Jefferson Davis Chapter #2255 of the United Daughters of the Confederacy through Mrs. R. W. Gimpel.

Microfilm: Index of Passengers L-LAU: List of Vessels Arriving in New York 1820-1846.
Donor: Mrs. Edna Lauer, Lone Wolf

Official Record Oklahoma Methodist Conference: 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964.
Donor: Reverend H. D. Ragland, Cherokee

Descent of Henry Head (1695-1949) in America—Idress Head Alvord
Donor: "Presented in memory of Philip A. Coulter, Jr. U. S. N. and the others listed in this book who have gone before" by Mrs. Herbert D. Coulter, Meno. (This book was previously listed as the gift of Mrs. Herbert Lee Coulter which was in error).

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION

Oklahoma Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, June 1864

Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society

Photocopy of Marriage License issued by U. S. District Court, Central District, Ind. Territory, to Arthur Sweeten, Thurman, I. T. and Alice Poulson, Thurman, Dec. 2, 1896

Donor: Jack Sweeden, 412 NW 85th St., Oklahoma City

"The Fate of Polish Archives During World War II," by Adam Stebelski, 1864.

Donor: Central Directorate of State Archives, Warsaw, Poland

"The English Bible Before The King James" An Exhibit of thirty items from The Harrison Collection.

Donor: Bridwell Library, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas

Indian Voices, June 1964

Donor: Robert K. Thomas, Editor

Color Map of Oklahoma, entitled "Fifty Years Oklahoma 1889-1939" by George Rainey, Enid.

Donor: Miss Diana Gail Peairs, 5103 Brookview Drive, Dallas, Texas

Collection of original letters, speeches, papers and unidentified pictures of Indians of the late Frederick H. Abbott, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1909-1912.

Donor: Ralph E. Hartenstine, Box 4608, Jacksonville, Fla.

Photostat of etching of John Ross House, Rossville, Georgia

Donor: Hale Bicknell, Oklahoma City

RECORDS: U. S. Indian Claims Commission

Emigrant New York Indians vs. U. S. of America, Docket No. 75:
Order Correcting Error in Computations, Amended Interlocutory Order, Findings of Fact, Opinion of Commission and Final Award.

Otoe & Missouria Tribe of Indians vs. U. S. of America, Docket No. 11-a
Order Allowing Attorneys Fees.

The Citizen Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Oklahoma, vs. U. S. of America, Docket No. 101
Findings of Fact and Opinion of the Commission.

Quileute Tribe of Indians et al vs. United States of America, Docket 155
Findings on Attorneys Fees and Order Allowing Attorney Fees

Quinaielt Tribe of Indians, et al, vs. United States of America, Docket No. 242
Findings on Attorneys Fees, and Order allowing Attorney fees.

Red Lake, Pembina & White Earth Bands, et al., vs. U. S. Docket 18-a

Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians vs. U. S., Docket 113

Little Shell Band of Chippewa Indians vs. U. S., Docket 191
Findings of fact on attorneys fees, and Order allowing Attorneys fees

Sac & Fox Tribe of Missouri vs. U. S., Docket No. 195
Findings of Fact, and Opinion of the Commission

Seminole Indians of the State of Florida vs. U. S., Docket No. 73

Seminole Indians of the State of Oklahoma vs. U. S., Docket No. 151
Findings of Fact, and Opinion of the Commission

Tillamook and Naalem Bands of Tillamooks, Clatsap Tribe, Kathlamet Band of Chinooks, Nuc-Quee-Clah-We-Muck Tribe, the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians, Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians, Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community, Oregon, and portions and descendants of all such tribes and bands, vs. United States, Docket No. 240.
Order allowing fees to the attorneys, etc.

The Upper Skagit Tribe of Indians, Docket 92

The Snogualmie Tribes of Indians in its own behalf and on relation of the Skykomish Tribe of Indians, Docket 93

The Duwamish Tribe of Indians, Docket 109

The Lummi Tribe of Indians, Docket 110

The Snohomish Tribe of Indians, Docket 125

The Suquamish Tribe of Indians, Docket 132

The Stillaguamish Tribe of Indians, Docket 207

The Swinomish Tribe of Indians, Docket 233

The Samish Tribe of Indians, Docket 261

The Kikallus Tribe of Indians, Docket 263

The Skagit Tribe of Indians, Docket 294 vs. United States
Order relating to allocation of Point Elliott Treaty Consideration, and Opinion of the Commission

Clyde V. Thompson et al Docket 31

Ernest Risling et al Docket 37

The Baron Long, et al bands of Mission Indians of California, Dockets 80 and 80D

The Pitt River Indians of California, Docket 347 vs. United States
Findings of Fact, Final Determination or Judgment and Opinion of the Commission.
Donor: United States Indian Claims Commission

MUSEUM

EXHIBITS:

Buffalo Rifle
Pair of High Top Shoes
Donor: Estate of H. J. Donnelly

Press, Carpenter's Drill Press
Donor: A. R. McAnelly

Rock, petrified fern
Donor: Shane Kern

Dress, black silk
Coat, black plush
Coat, man's dress coat
Shirts, white stiff bosom
Donor: Mrs. Roger E. Berry

Umbrella, black silk
Pleating Frame
Donor: L. W. Stott

Bible, used at Fort Gibson, Indian Territory
Donor: Gillette Griswell, Director Ft. Sill Museum

Morter and Pestle, Cherokee
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